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ABSTRACT

A 1-year naturalistic study examined the differences and similarities in the literacy experiences of second grade at-risk children in 2 different types of classrooms: 1 traditional and 1 whole language classroom. The purpose was to develop models of the 2 contrasted classrooms. The study sought to shed light on the probable causes accounting for the differential literacy development taking place through comparing and contrasting the activities of the 44 inner-city children and 2 teachers participating in the study. Results indicated that the whole-language philosophy created a classroom where children were encouraged to think, make choices, problem solve, and collaborate on learning in ways that are very different from a traditional classroom. Results further indicated that the whole language teacher spent more time actually teaching during the reading/language arts block than did the traditional teacher. Results also showed that children's "off-task" behavior usually had a literate basis in the traditional classroom. (Fifteen figures are included; 160 references and 3 appendixes containing samples of children's writing are attached.) (PRA)

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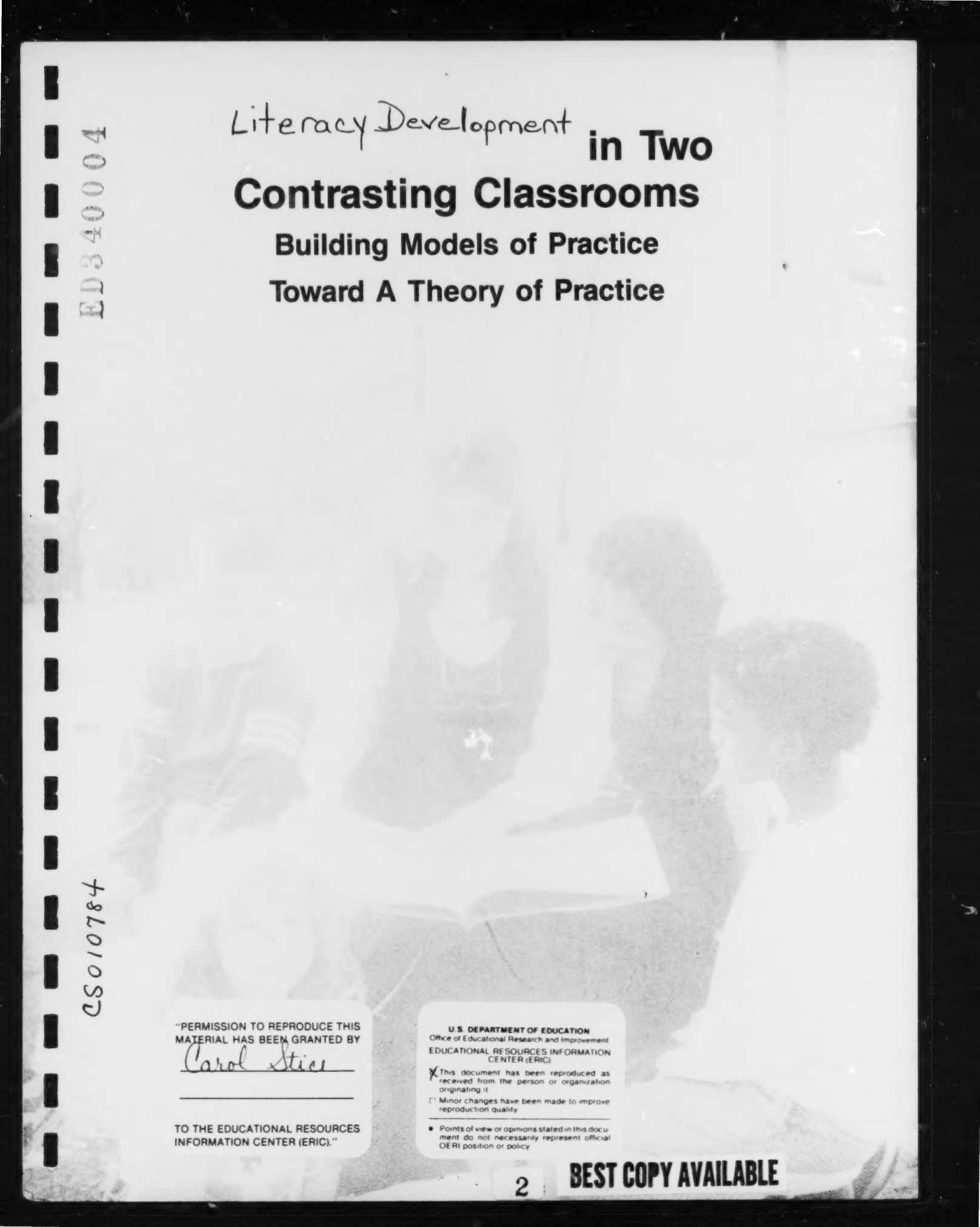
Literacy Development in Two Contrasting Classrooms

Building Models of Practice

Toward A Theory of Practice



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LITERACY DEVELOPMENT IN TWO CONTRASTING CLASSROOMS: BUILDING MODELS OF PRACTICE TOWARD A THEORY OF PRACTICE

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Finally, much of the credit for the completed form of this document belongs to Dr. Nancy P. Bertrand, Associate Professor of Elementary and Special Education, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Her efforts on our behalf, her editorial suggestions, criticisms, insights and ideas were invaluable.

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Introduction

This document is the report of a one year naturalistic study in two inner city second grade classrooms. The study was developed as an extension of a two year rationalistic, quantitative pilot study (Stice and Bertrand, 1990). The present study was designed to answer questions not answerable with experimental methods. Such questions as: "What is going on here?" "How are these two classrooms different?" and "Why are these two programs producing different results?" are accessible only through direct and lengthy observation and extensive documentation.

All ethnographies have as their ultimate purpose the constructing of systematic knowledge about an unknown or little known culture, even those with limited scopes such as this one is. In our case we wanted to know what happens as literacy develops in two seemingly very different types of classrooms. Through comparing and contrasting the activities of the children and the teachers in classrooms employing two opposing philosophies of teaching and learning, we sought to shed light on the probable causes accounting for the differential literacy development taking place.

At the end of the first year of the pilot study we were confronted with two very important questions, from our point of view. These were: 1) How can we account for and document the probable causes of the differences in the quality of literacy development we were seeing; and 2) Why

weren't the differences greater if children indeed learn to read by really reading and to write by really writing. If children cannot be taught to read and write, if they can only learn to read and write by doing; (Cochrane, Cochrane, Scalena, & Buchanan, 1984), why were not the quantitative outcomes of the pilot study more obviously different in the Whole Language classrooms where teachers engaged the children in considerably more reading and writing than the traditional teachers? We, therefore, decided to implement a qualitative, ethnographic style study to examine the salient features of both kinds of classrooms. It is the qualitative, naturalistic study that is the subject of this report.

The General Goals. The primary goal of this report is to present a systematically constructed view of these classrooms. That is, we want the reader to know something about the similarities and differences between these classrooms.

A secondary goal is to entertain and perhaps persuade. We hope that the reader will come to value the types of classroom learning events we think are important for the literacy development of young children.

As the mass of data from a naturalistic study are categorized, dissected, tallied and otherwise analyzed, a picture is created that allows the researchers to develop and reasonably defend their insights. However, it isn't

until the researchers reconstruct and present their experiences in the new framework that they really learn what it is they now know that they didn't know before. Therefore, a third goal for this document is to help the writers learn.

As with any learning endeavor, it is the journey that is the most important part, we hope you will view the reading of this report as an excursion into the world of these two classrooms. As we wrote, we reflected and rewrote to see what we had learned, and as you read, you may ponder, skip ahead, reflect and perhaps reread.

Qualitative research is a lengthy and messy process. There are reams of notes and other artifacts and relatively few numbers. Qualitative researchers are anthropologists by inclination and to some extent by training. Anthropologists like to move in and learn about their subjects by becoming one of them to the greatest extent possible. However, qualitative educational researchers really can't do that. They can't become children again. They can only observe. Therefore, qualitative classroom research is always limited ethnography at best.

The Setting. The school in which this study took place is an inner-city, K-4 neighborhood school bound on one side by a large federally subsidized housing project and on the other by modest to poor family dwellings. The school is a 2 story red brick building built in the 1950's. Today, its

racial mix is 60% black, 35% white and 5% Asian children newly immigrated to this country. More than 80% of the children benefit from the school's free lunch program. There are portable classrooms both in front and in back of the school, testifying to the rapid growth of this neighborhood as more and more families are forced to live in low income housing. This area of the city is known for its high unemployment and violent crime.

From the playground in back of the school, many of the children have witnessed drug deals, car thefts and occasional shootings. Some of the children in this school have themselves been victims of violence including child abuse, sexual molestation, veneral disease, abandonment, and murder.

Meeting the Children. The children in this area live in poverty, many in single parent households, and a substantial number do not finish high school. When we began this project, the school's mean achievement on the yearly standardized achievement test was below the 30th percentile. By nearly every definition, most of these children would be considered at risk of problems in school and later life.

The children in these two classrooms were representative of the neighborhood, and we came to know some of them quite well. They shared many things with us in addition to their schoolwork. As with all children, there

were silly times, funny times, angry times and happy times. As we came to know them, they taught us a great deal.

From the whole language classroom, none of us will soon forget Emile who liked old people and who wanted to be a preacher or a teacher when he grew up. Reared by his maternal grandmother, Emile was usually found "helping someone." He had a ready smile, and he told us that his ideas for writing came from God.

There was Teresa who wrote on the first day of school about being abused by the family minister--a man who later shot himself while awaiting trial. She cautiously gave her story to the teacher and whispered, "Don't tell anyone. I just had to write it down." Teresa seemed to make the least amount of academic progress during that year.

Angelita, the oldest and tallest person in the class, started the year writing one or two letters per word and dictating stories. She finished the year writing lengthy, fairly well constructed stories. Her mother came to school on Parent's Day in May and thanked the teacher because Angelita had learned so much and had actually enjoyed school that year.

There was pretty Sherrissa, who was one of the best writers in the class but who was nearly always the children's second choice when getting "expert help" on reading or writing. Their first choice was a white child who was probably not any more clever or helpful and who was

not nearly as patient as Sherrissa. The children, both black and white, evidently believed that Sherrissa couldn't be quite as good as Aril, even though we documented the teacher taking great pains to encourage the children to ask for help from both girls equally.

And then there was Jarldmichael, who almost did not make it into the second grade because he couldn't pass the first grade skills tests. He wrote a nine-page personal narrative during the second week of school. By the end of the school year, he was writing original stories, letters to his favorite author and introducing himself to classroom visitors as "a writer and a rapper." We got most of our hugs each day from Jarldmichael.

In the traditional classroom, we met Jennifer. Jennifer wrote wonderful stories at home and brought them to school as gifts for the teacher. She also wrote lengthy notes to the teacher thanking her for being so nice to the children and for being such a good teacher.

There was Tony, a dispondent little boy who suffered greatly because his mother had moved him from his friends in Louisville, Kentucky. He was a natural leader and frequently orchestrated some covert group event or answered the other boys' questions about what they were supposed to be doing, even though he could not read or write well enough to do the work himself.

At age eight, DeAndre' was already a very gifted artist. He copied stories and imitated illustrators' work whenever he had a free minute. Edric, his best friend in class, was nearly always lost and demonstrated some very clever ways of following (or copying) what the others were doing so as not to be exposed. Edric was small for his age and frequently looked to and received help and protection from DeAndre'.

The children in these classrooms were at-risk of school and later life failure for a wide variety of reasons. Society is robbing them of their childhood, and the only social institution that exists to give them the tools they are going to need to be successful in the main stream and in school.

Meeting the Teachers. Both teachers were generous in allowing us into their classrooms. They took time to answer our questions, to respond to our tentative conclusions and to just put up with us for several months. Each teacher held strong convictions about teaching, learning, discipline and literacy development. Each was a kind, conscientious and concerned teacher who maintained a warm relationship with the children and who experienced a minimum of disruptive behavior in her classroom. One teacher was an experienced and highly recommended traditional teacher (Durkin, 1987; Ekwell & Shanker, 1989; Heilman, Blair & Rupley, 1986; Stauffer, 1969). The other was an

enthusiastic, emerging whole language teacher (Goodman, 1986; Graves, 1983; Harste, Woodward and Burke, 1984; Newman, 1985; Smith, 1988; Weaver, 1988). Each teacher had taught at least 10 years, and both were well liked by their peers and by the children. Discipline problems were minimal and attendance rates were among the highest in the school for both classrooms.

The traditional classroom was very organized. It was cheerfully decorated with desks aligned in three rows running the length of the room from the teacher's desk in front of the room to the "round robin" reading table in the back. Visible materials consisted of textbooks, workbooks, dictionaries, one computer, and a craft stand and tablet. The children worked alone at their seats or with the teacher at the round table. This classroom was clean, quiet, and compatible to the instructional stance of the teacher.

The whole language classroom by contrast appeared to be a busier and more cluttered environment. The children's desks were arranged in four desk clusters, the alignment often determined by the work being done at the time. Not only were there texts and reference books visible on the shelves, but nearly 1,000 children's books (both purchased and child made), various magazines, and other print sources were available. At any point in time, it appeared that several projects were taking place.

The teacher spent a great amount of time moving from child to child, from small group to small group as the children worked. She also worked with small groups of children at a table in the front of the classroom or on the rug by the windows along the side of the room. Even to an outside observer, (and we engaged several during the year) both classrooms appeared well organized and representative of the teacher's stated philosophy.

Melanie. The whole language teacher's goal for the children was to help extend their curiosity and help them become competent people, knowledgeable and self-confident. Melanie believed that these are crucial, interrelated and interdependent attributes that developed over time in a child-centered curriculum. To that end, she attempted to create a classroom environment rich in content and one that daily encouraged the children to acquire information, make decisions and express themselves.

The children engaged in using written language for a great many purposes. They dictated stories, made lists, wrote notes and messages, made signs, wrote original stories, raps and songs. They wrote patterned stories, information books, copied books and poems, wrote letters of thanks, requests, explanations, information, as well as letters to pen pals, journal entries and hosts of other texts.

Their reading and writing improved considerably over time. It also reflected the risk-free climate of the classroom, the culture and interests of the children, as well as the available literature in the classroom, and the information from the units the child had studied. The following samples of children's written work exemplify the focus in Melanie's classroom.

The following examples came from one child's writing over a two to three month period. This child was a reluctant writer at the beginning of the year (See Figures 1 & 2). By November, she was producing stories. All of her stories were told through conversation, and by January, she was beginning to explore dialogue markers. She did this by looking at books with quotation marks in them. She and the teacher had discussed how to handle talking in stories during several reading conferences throughout the fall. She was also fascinated by the horror film genre' so popular that year. In the second example, written in January, "Jason and Freddy and Nancy," the text was being readied for classroom publication in a soft cover binding. The child and the teacher had not yet edited for any mechanical changes, but the child had identified words she thought were misspelled by circling them.

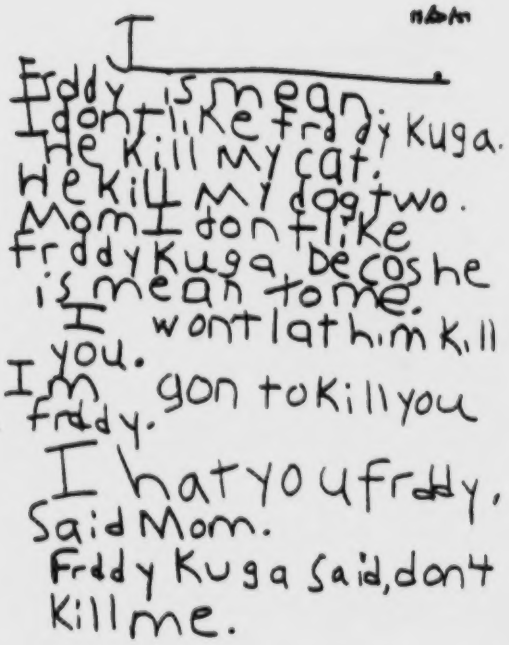
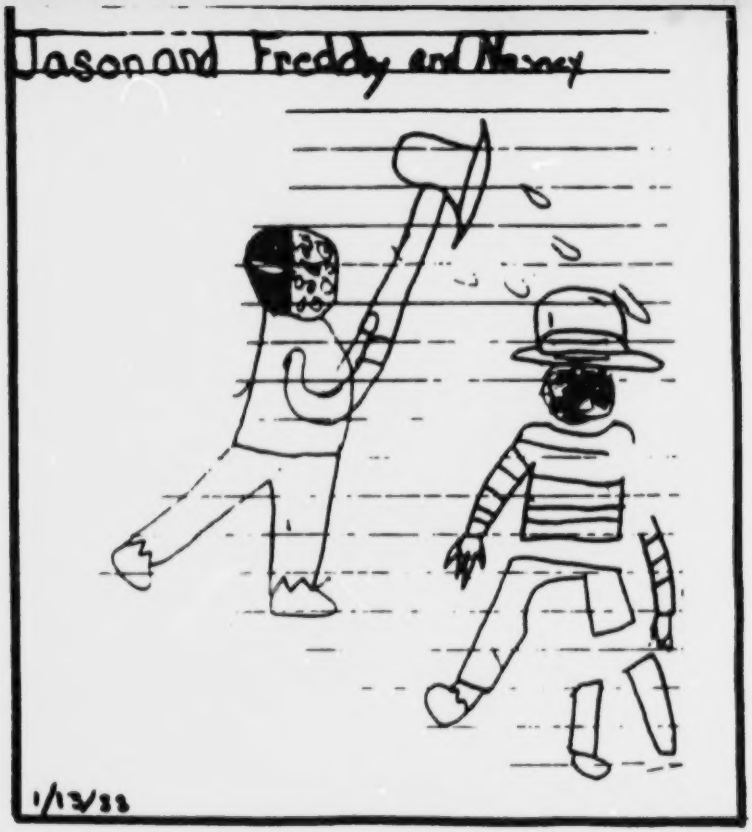

I
Frddy is mean.
I dont like fraddy Kuga.
He kill my cat.
He kill my dog two.
Mom I don like
fraddy Kuga because he
is mean to me.
I wont lat him kill
you.
I'm gon to kill you
fraddy.
I hat you fraddy,
said Mom.
Fraddy Kuga said, don't
kill me.

Figure 1


Jason and Freddy and Nancy
1/13/88

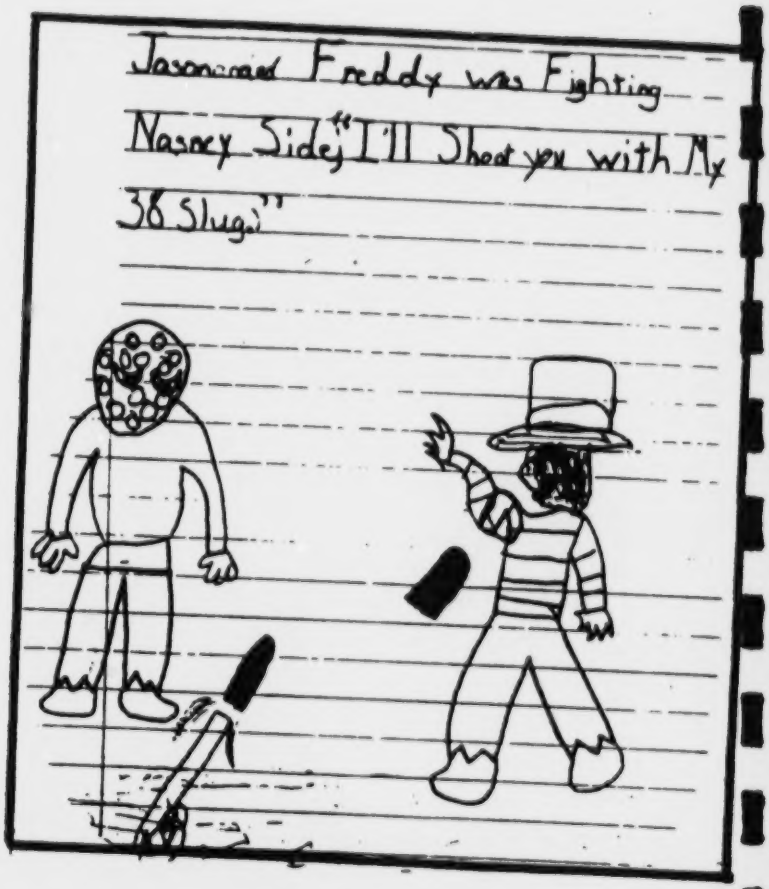
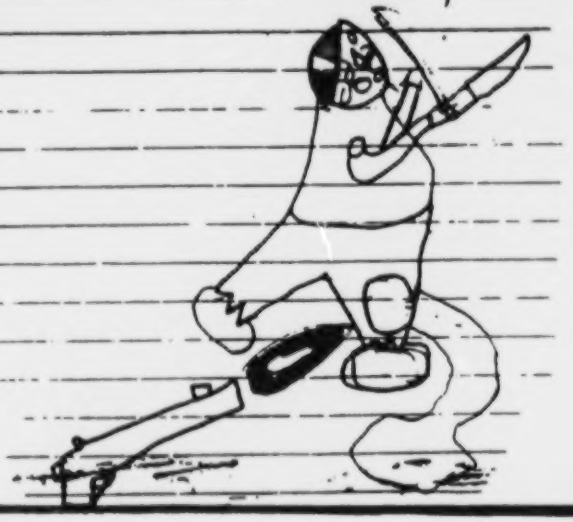

Jason and Freddy was Fighting
Nancy Side, "I'll Shoot you with My
38 Slugs"

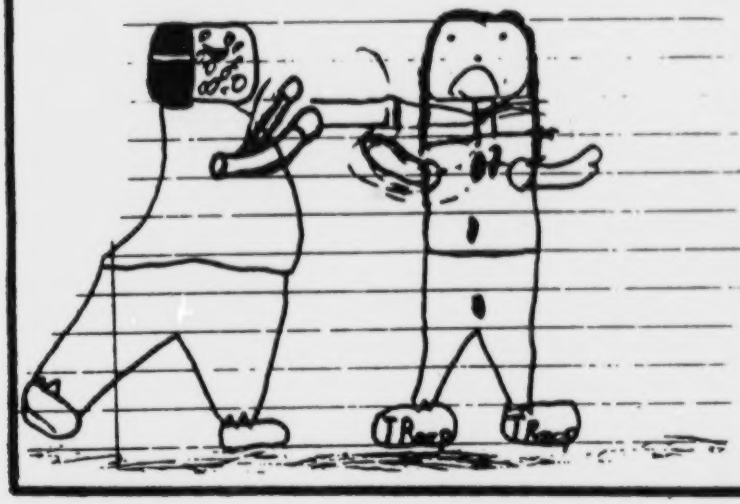
Figure 2

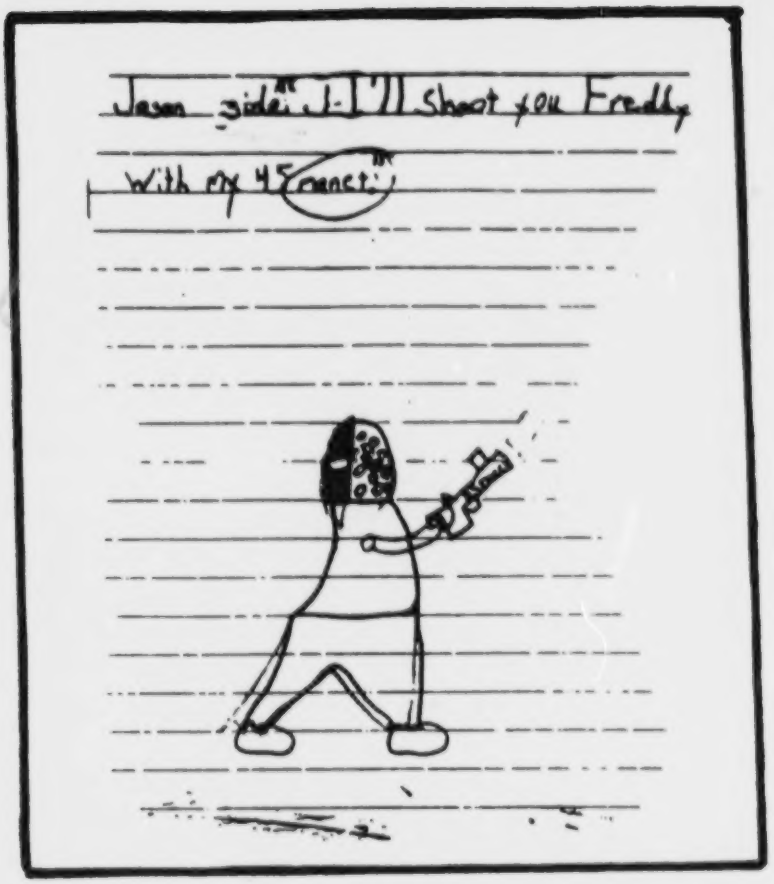
Jason side "you show me I'll (kille) you Nesney."



Jason side "Te Nesney (xmier) intrible"

Freddy side to Jason. "I'll shoot ya."




Jason said: I'll shoot you Freddy
With my 45 magnet!

Mary. The teacher in the traditional classroom believed that children must be directly taught phonics, vocabulary, other word identification skills and other skills related to the mechanics of print as the foundation for learning to read. Mary asked her students to produce almost no written language of the types found in the whole language class. Most of their written work was in the form of workbook pages. Once in a while, she would have the children write a few connected sentences, usually from a story starter. There were no examples from the traditional classroom of children pursuing a topic over several writing attempts. Each piece of text produced by the children in this classroom was a separate exercise, usually designed to reinforce an aspect of mechanics or language skill such as using proper end punctuation. Most of the writing was assigned by the teacher and done on ditto sheets.

In the following example, a discussion around a basal reader story about the sounds of the city evolved into a discussion on the plight of the city's homeless. One of the children wrote the following message during seat work time. The children had been asked to write two or three sentences about the story. While this piece of text was not about the story per se, it did stem from the small group discussion, and Mary accepted it as fulfilling the assignment. As with most of the writing samples from this classroom, the children took great care to stay within the lines and to

make all the letters neatly and correctly. This child has apparently confused the words "winter" and "weather," weather being one of the "new words" from the story. Also, like many of the children, this child found that the allotted seat work time was longer than needed--allowing for, among other things, doodling. In this case, the doodler was experimenting with cubes and other shapes on the paper on which he was working.

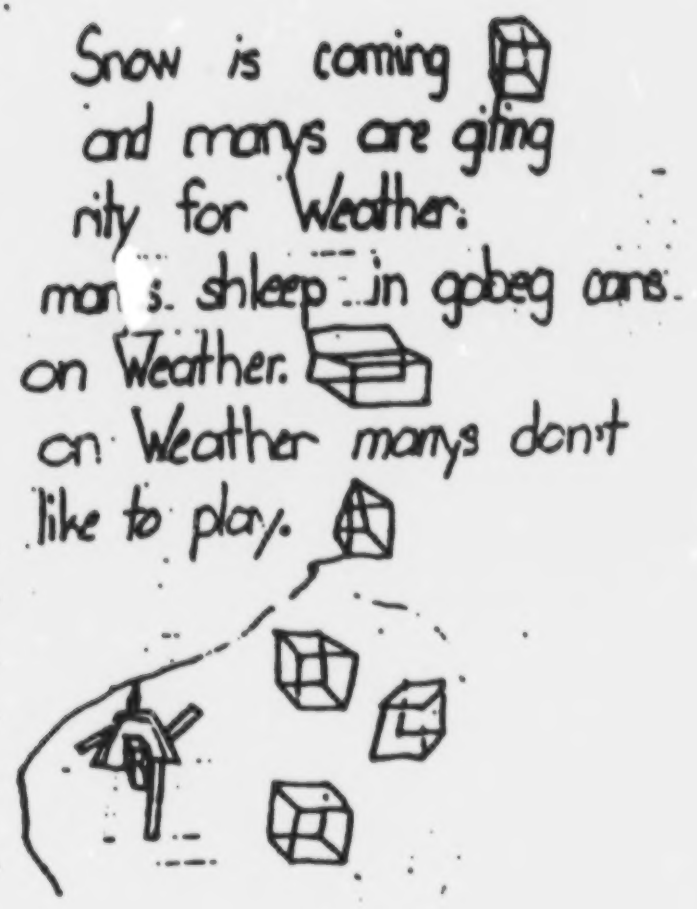

Snow is coming
and manys are giing
nity for Weather:
man s. shleep in gobeg cans.
on Weather.
on Weather manys don't
like to play.

Figure 3

Rationale

There has long been an argument in this country, and indeed worldwide, as to which method of reading instruction produces better readers. Currently, this debate focuses on two diametrically opposed approaches to curriculum and instruction, a decoding versus a meaning-centered paradigm (Adams, 1990). These curricular models represent differences not only in how reading instruction is conducted, but also in how each group of proponents views learning and the reading act itself (Shuy, 1984).

Those who support "reading as decoding" (reductionists) believe reading can be divided into numerous teachable and measurable "skills." Learning to decode, they believe, precedes actual reading. Traditional basal reader instruction with a heavy emphasis on sound-letter knowledge and the mastering of numerous discrete word level skills best represents reading as decoding (Carbo, 1987).

Those who support a meaning-centered, "transactive" view, (constructivists) believe language is fundamental to human learning and that learning naturally occurs from whole to part. These experts believe everything in a child's world (the total social context) is important to his/her learning how to read. Some basic assumptions underlying meaning-centered instruction are: a) reading is an active process; b) reading is a language process; c) readers have knowledge about language and the world that they must use in learning

to read; d) meaning-centered instruction best represents the way human beings learned their oral language (Goodman, Watson and Burke, 1987). Meaning-centered instruction is best represented by a socio-psycholinguistic model referred to as whole language (Goodman, 1986; 1987).

While most educational research into the effects of various teaching methods appears to be largely inconclusive and fragmented, a few tentative conclusions can be drawn (Pearson, 1984). First, the emphasis in the instructional method is reflected in learning--children learn what they are taught. For example, specific methods that promote decoding skills tend to yield greater decoding--related ability, and methods that promote comprehending tend to yield greater comprehension--related ability. Second, no single method appears to be consistently superior in developing general reading skill. Third, conditions other than method (e.g., teacher expectations, teacher attitudes, social interactions, environmental considerations) have consequences for learning. This means that context as well as content contribute to how and what children learn. Therefore, the entire instructional progress in operation must become the unit of study. Finally, dichotomy between a focus on form (code-emphasis) versus a focus on substance (meaning-emphasis) appears to exist in all literate cultures. Presently researchers cannot answer the question as to which, if either, is better without first specifying

more fully the distinctive features of each focus and identifying the secondary or environmental aspects of instruction that influence the achievement of various groups of children. Therefore, a need exists for practice-to-theory research (Harste, 1987) since measures of the products alone appear to be inadequate.

Purpose

The goal of most educational research is to improve children's opportunities to learn. Quantitative, experimental studies can provide some base for deciding whether a given program is sufficiently effective to warrant a more in-depth analysis of the processes involved. Accordingly, a two-year rationalistic, quantitative study of the literacy development of primary grade, at-risk children was devised. This "pilot" study compared the achievement of selected matched pairs of at-risk children in five whole language and five traditional classrooms. The findings from this study suggest several things. First, a whole language curricular paradigm appears to be a viable alternative, based on standardized achievement scores, to a traditional (basal reader, skills-based) instructional format for teachers who wish to pursue it. Such a curriculum appears to be viable for both rural and inner city at-risk children. Second, a whole language program may be only as good as the teacher's understanding of what whole language involves.

Third, a whole language model seems to produce qualitatively better results with regard to such areas as reader knowledge of the reading process, learner attitudes toward literacy, learner self-concept, than a traditional model. However, the actual substantive similarities and differences between these programs that might contribute to such difference remained largely unobserved and in need of further amplification. What we knew was that these were very different instructional programs, and they appeared to be producing some very different short term results.

Research Focus

Data in this report were generated from a study of literacy acquisition in one of the whole language and one of the traditional second grade classrooms used in the two year study. Specifically, we wanted to examine the differences and similarities in the literacy experiences of at-risk children in two different types of classrooms. The purpose was to develop models of the two contrasted classrooms. The general research questions posed at the inception of the project were:

1. What are the substantive similarities and differences in literacy events (what the children experience) in the two classrooms?

2. What critical instructional practices differentiate the two classrooms?

3. What is the role of social interactions in learning to read and write in the two classrooms?

4. What processes do the children in the two contrasted classrooms use to construct new literacy knowledge?

5. What do the children's oral and written texts tell us about literacy development in the two classrooms?

6. What is the nature of the children's perspectives of literacy and literacy instruction in the two classroom?

Research Contexts

Several categories of literature frame this study. To increase our understanding of the processes of classroom learning, especially the similarities and differences in the literacy experiences of at-risk children in two contrasting instructional programs, we examined related literature on the pertinent information relative to general literacy, emergent literacy, the nature of whole language and traditional instruction in the early grades, the effect these classroom environments have on children's learning, current perspectives toward at-risk learners, and finally the appropriateness of ethnographic style methods as they relate to literacy research.

Literacy Defined. Basic literacy is commonly defined as the ability to read and write. But the ability to read and write what or how well is another issue. If the literature on reading and writing displays any one salient feature, it is that there is no commonly accepted definition of literacy. The problem stems from the fact that language

is extremely complex and only recently have linguists come to any indepth understanding. The rest of us necessarily think of it as --a "mechanical mastery of the three Rs" (Broudy, 1980; Meek, 1982). Moreover, it is naive to think of literacy in terms of simply being able to read and write. One must then ask the obvious, the ability to read and write at what level--a second grade basal text or a physics text on quantum mechanics (Mikulecky, 1987). For the purposes of this study literacy "implies an enculturation into ways of thinking, interpreting, and using language in a variety of complex activities and settings, typical of a rapidly changing and technologically advanced society" (Michaels and Gee, 1988).

From an examination of the history of literacy in the western world, Resnick and Resnick (1977) concluded that in both Europe and America, schooling was aimed at producing minimal levels of literacy for the majority of the population and high levels for the elite. Only in recent years has literacy for "the masses" been a worldwide goal.

According to the most recent NAEP report, (1988), virtually all of our nation's students, ages 9-17, can perform the fundamental skills of reading, writing and mathematics. However, when reading or writing becomes more complex, more abstract, the percentages of students able to perform competently are alarmingly low. This is true even of tasks relevant to the real world of work and daily life

such as reading information in tables and graphs or balancing checkbooks. On tasks such as synthesizing the main argument from a lengthy newspaper column, examining a menu to compute the cost of a meal, determining the correct change from a specified amount, or writing a persuasive letter, less than 6% of U.S. public high school graduates can perform adequately (Shanker, 1990).

Literacy must indeed be a goal of the larger society because written language provides definitions, making our assumptions and premises explicit. Written language observes the formal rules of logic and creates an instrument of considerable power for building an abstract and coherent theory of reality (Olsen, 1977). Oral language on the other hand, is an instrument of limited power for exploring abstract ideas. It is, however, a universal means of sharing our understanding of concrete situations and everyday actions. Daily transactions among persons within and between social groups depend upon oral language and always will; however, when journeying into the world of ideas, of philosophy, logic, politics, the written or visual text is vital.

Equally important, Ong (1982) argues that the human mind cannot reach its full potential without writing. Most significantly, writing frees the mind to process different aspects of the social context. It preserves the surface structure of language allowing what has been said (the

words) to be analyzed, studied, and interpreted. Oral language does not lend itself as easily to such analyses (Finnegan, 1979). Without writing, the disciplines of history, science, philosophy and art would not have developed, endured, and become as we know them today.

During the first two-thirds of this century, the definitive literature on literacy was characterized by a dichotomy--the "primitive" versus the "civilized" mind (Gee, 1986). The so-called primitive or "savage" mind (Levi-Strauss, 1963) was considered to be less capable or even incapable of abstract thought. The language of the "primitive" mind was considered less complex. Modern sociological anthropology and comparative linguistics quelled many of these notions (Sapir, 1921; Street, 1984). These same notions of the "primitive" or "savage" mind under lay the beliefs during the fifties and sixties about the linguistic abilities of poor minority children. And while Labov's work (1965, 1972) did much to refute these notions, there are still those who attribute the failure to become literate of many at-risk children to their having a linguistic system not sophisticated enough to handle complex thought (Eller, 1989). In the 1980's, the language used to describe literacy achievement for specific cultural groups has become less pejorative. The new terms are multiple literacies, keys to literacy, and empowerment. Literacy is coming to be viewed as necessarily plural with discourse

adjusted for various social and cultural contexts (Gee, 1987; Heath, 1983; Taylor, 1988). Such uses of language are integrally connected with personal sense of self and group identity for the people who practice them. And is now clear that changing literacy practices requires a change in identity for the individual or the group (Gee, 1986).

Our understanding of who is illiterate is changing as societal conditions make us aware of previously unrecognized degrees of reality. Not only are some at-risk groups less illiterate than was originally thought (Heath, 1984; Taylor, 1988), but some groups, traditionally thought to be at least functionally literate, are more illiterate. For instance, the necessary restructuring in some of the nation's largest industries has uncovered scores of workers who read and write poorly. Heretofore considered the backbone of American industry, many of these workers lack the literacy levels needed to cope with the paperwork necessary for job transfers or job skill retraining programs (Smith, 1986). Thus, it appears that full literacy is an illusive goal for more segments of society than just the lowest socioeconomic groups.

Therefore, different literacy needs of different groups and individuals may call for radically different understandings and solutions. One possible solution may be a different type of instruction. For example, McPhail (1985) believes inner-city black kids need cooperative,

collaborative learning, experientially based, action oriented, and more visual than auditory. He believes that the classroom climate must not be hostile to the non-verbal signals, moods, feelings and attitudes that children bring to school. Teachers must have a respect for and an understanding of the children's culture. These factors, in addition to an evaluation that is holistic and relational, will produce better learning. Delpit (1986) argues that concerns of black teachers and parents are being disregarded. She believes black children may need to be directly taught standard English. A failure to do so is to deny these children the key to school-based literacy. For her, the issue of poor literacy development in at-risk minority children is one of social empowerment and therefore access to the standard language.

According to Smith (1986), literacy and illiteracy is extremely complex. Literacy should not be limited to middle class views of literacy such as the ability to read novels and write letters. If there are a number of different literacies, there are a number of different illiteracies as well with multiple causes. The research into the causes of illiteracy suggests they range from societal exclusion (McDermott, 1974; Ogbu, 1980) and cost-benefit-ratio (Gilmore, 1982) to relational problems (Michaels and Cazden, 1986).

Cambourne and Turbil, (1986), asserts that becoming literate involves three conditions. First, learners must believe they already are in some way literate or can become literate. Second, they must believe that being literate is a good and beneficial thing for them individually and as members of various groups, e.g. that they will not lose their friends and loved ones and that they will always be able to "go home again." Finally, they must believe that becoming literate will not hurt--that it is essentially risk free. Free from risk means free from the risk of psychological hurt-- that no one will hold them up to public ridicule for their attempts and that those who already are literate will help, rather than exclude them from any relational groups.

Emergent Literacy. The development of school literacy has its inception in the child's language and family experiences before formal school begins. Emergent literacy is that literacy development and learning that occurs prior to formal instruction in school (Teale, 1986). Five pre-school roots for school literacy identified by Y. Goodman (1986b) are: print awareness in situational contexts, print awareness in connected discourse, functions and forms of writing, oral language about written language, and meta-linguistic/meta-cognitive awareness about written language. Summarizing several research reports on early literacy, she concludes that children across all socioeconomic

boundaries--racial, ethnic, and sex groups--are inventing, discovering and developing literacy as they grow up in the larger literate society. Children bring a variety of pre-literacy experiences to school. Not all of them are recognized by teachers as foundational. For instance, some poor, inner city children have as part of their pre-literacy experience reading the mass transit schedule and street signs. These can be capitalized on in kindergarten or first grade classrooms if they are understood and appreciated by the teacher. With the value society places on full literacy, recognizing and legitimizing all children's abilities to develop and build their own roots of (and routes to) literacy would be a positive step toward the realization of this goal.

As Bruner (1983) has made abundantly clear, oral language development begins long before the learner speaks his or her first word. This realization has had a profound effect upon researchers trying to understand the development of literacy. Teale & Sulzby's work (1986) summarizes the current state of findings on the home, early language, and the young child's emergent literacy.

Aside from a few case studies of mainstream children (e.g., Bissex, 1980, Hoffman, 1982) we have precious little descriptive, longitudinal information on literacy development in early childhood. Heath's (1983) and Taylor's (1983) projects stand as notable exceptions.

A second area which warrants further study is the social meaning of literacy. We now have a good deal of observational information on the functions and uses of reading and writing in the lives of children and adults. But we need to discover more about how text types and people's mental operation on those various types of text cluster under the various domains of activity mediated by literacy. Finally, there is Storybook Time. So much has been written about parent-child book reading interactions in the last few years that it seems almost redundant to say that this is a domain which continues to be of extreme importance. The need for more longitudinal research on young children's literacy experience, especially of parent-child storybook-reading episodes, remains. We have indications that there are social class and cultural differences in storybook reading practices. In addition, Teale (1986) believes the one aspect of emergent literacy which deserves much greater attention is writing. Recent research results confirm what educators like Clay (1975), Read (1975), and Bisset (1980) have been saying, that writing plays a significant role in young children's natural literacy emergent development.

One of the most important insights from emergent literacy research is the realization that, as with oral reading miscues, errors in writing are patterned rather than random and as such are windows into the child's current

understanding of how print works. The whole notion of invented spellings and errors being approximations toward adult forms stem from such realizations. They also reflect the child's home language and experiences with print. All children have learned to talk without formal instruction. One might therefore build a case that children's encounters with print should be relatively problem-free, given the base and degree of linguistic competence virtually all children demonstrate relative to their native language (Simon & Gumperz, 1980). In fact, Smith (1983) raises the issue that since most illiterates learned to talk with great facility, it might be a more pertinent perspective to wonder why educators are able to arrange learning environments in which so many children consistently fail to learn to read.

Indeed, schools make unique demands upon young learners. Schools require children to think about language with language--a task children probably have never had to do before. Initially, children spend much time learning about print and much of what they are having to learn is presented in print. In school, children must learn to accommodate communicative conventions of teachers and of other children who do not share their background. In addition, children learn that their behavior must be changed and that they will be constantly assessed. They must learn new interactional and interpretive skills. They must also learn to demonstrate what they have learned upon demand, often in

isolated, fragmented and meaningless tasks (Simon and Gumperz, 1980). Finally, membership in a society's lowest stratum is a strong prediction of school failure worldwide. That is, children from the least valued ethnic and cultural group in any society generally perform the least well on school tasks and on standardized achievement tests (Neisser, 1986).

Developmental Literacy. This term refers to the learning that begins to occur with school and formal instruction in reading and writing. During this period children acquire the foundation for nearly all future school learning. By the end of this developmental period children are supposed to be well into independent reading and writing, using written language as a tool for learning and expressing themselves. Depending upon the type of instructional program in which the children find themselves, they are exposed to many aspects of the reading and writing processes. They may read to call words, or they may read more for meaning. They may think of themselves as authors or they may view writing as correct letter formation. Whatever their instructionally created view of literacy processes, by the end of the third or fourth grade, children are well into using written language for achievement testing or performance ratings in schools. They will either continue to grow or they will increasingly fall behind.

The Social Nature of Literacy Development. Vygotsky (1962, 1978), more than any other socio-historical theorist, saw both oral and written language development as the primary vehicle by which adult-mediated instruction occurs. According to Shuy (1984), language, in all its forms, is the foundation for school learning. But school learning and literacy development are not equally accessible to all children (Gavelek, 1984).

Schooling is the primary means of passing on the traditional culture and producing mainstream literacy. As discussed previously, there are multiple literacies, multiple illiteracies, and many and varied causes for both. At societal levels, the issues are complex. At personal levels, the issues are no less difficult. On both levels, failure is costly.

The difficulties children experience in school with school-type language, the view or definitions of literacy a child has acquired, the value the larger society assigned to the child's socio-economic and ethnic class, and the degree to which a child's identification group values literacy, all appear to play key roles in literacy development. For many children, the ability to overcome the literate bias of schools and to understand the invisible rules imbedded in schooling are more significant factors in learning to read and write than other major factors such as the amount of

time the children experience being read to aloud (Anderson and Stokes, 1984).

While it is clear that not enough is known about the processes and conditions of school-based literacy for all learners, several tentative conclusions have been reached. First, a definition of literacy is emerging. Literacy has to do with making meaning with a purpose through written language (Smith, 1988). Second, literacy is coming to be viewed not only as communcative and pluralistic, but as spiraling and constantly evolving (Goodman, 1988). Third, if reading and writing are not engaged in frequently, even when well learned, they begin to atrophy (Menyuk, 1988). Fourth, literacy may also need to be viewed not only as the ability to read and write well, but as the ability to reason like a literate person (Langer, 1988). Finally, a great deal of literacy research has been fragmented, with researchers focusing on such aspects as the texts children read or produce, or the social and institutional settings in which literacy practices take place (Michaels and Gee, 1988).

What literacy research has lacked has been a systematic examination of the complex interrelationships among the individual, the social and physical environment, and the text. This lack has created fundamental obstacles to the understanding of what it means to acquire school-based literacy. Prior research provides at best only partial

explanations to teachers of at-risk children who feel inadequately prepared to deal with the growing linguistic, cognitive, and cultural diversity of their classrooms.

Whole Language vs. Traditional Instruction. The literature regarding school achievement, especially the literacy development of low socio-economic and minority children, suggests that traditional schooling has not been very successful for these groups for at least two very important reasons. First, traditional materials and methods may be inappropriate. They were designed for minimal literacy development as well as for mainstream middle class children. Second, classroom contexts as mediated by teachers, school organizations and the broader society are based largely on the invisible rules of language and behavior valued by the mainstream, White middle class. Children who do not know or quickly learn these "rules" may be negatively treated, negatively judged, and even excluded from learning in traditional classroom programs (McDermott, 1978).

The two main traditional theoretical models to teaching developmental literacy in this country have been widely unsuccessful for minority children. They are the traditional basal reader, which emphasizes word recognition skills and the behavioral, mastery learning approach, which emphasizes phonic decoding. The traditional basal

reader/skills approach (Betts, 1946; Stauffer, 1969) has as its underlying assumptions:

- 1) the child is a passive receiver of knowledge
- 2) the way to acquire literacy is for a knowledgeable adult to teach it
- 3) the most valuable experience is second hand
- 4) the most dominant culture is the "right" way
- 5) the reading act can be dividied into three sets of skills: word identification skills, comprehension skills, and grammar.

The model is based on supposition and cultural heritage. It is of questionable value because it does not take into account new information on language, language learning, and the processes of literacy (Goodman, et.al, 1987).

The second model, a behavioral, phonic decoding, model was developed during the sixties and seventies (Cohen, 1977; Otto and Chester, 1976) and assumes that what is to be learned can be broken down into a hierarchy of discrete steps (i.e., subskills). If each step is then "mastered," the entire subject is "learned." Many educators believe that this model is highly questionable because of its assumptions about the nature of language learning and the nature of the reading/writing process (Anderson, et.al, 1985). Language, in all its forms, is <u>not</u> acquired through a build-up of isolated "skills" which mostly reflect the surface features of language. The nature of language learning is a highly complex process of communication.

Recently, these two models have been combined in many basal reader programs and in many elementary classrooms.

Whole language classrooms, natural learning environments or literature-based programs, are comprehension-centered, collaborative, and process oriented (Goodman, 1987). This theoretical orientation to teaching-learning is essentially the same curricular model for literacy development implemented in the primary grades in New Zealand (Clay, 1979; Holdaway, 1979), in West Germany (Bruselmann, 1986), and in many areas of Australia, Great Britain and Canada (Cambourne and Turbil, 1987; Goodman, 1986; Graves, 1983; McKenzie, 1977). Whole language assumes:

- 1) the learner is more important than the subject matter
- 2) students learn best when programs satisfy their personal and social needs
- 3) a cooperative learning atmosphere increases children's enjoyment and willingness to learn
- 4) language development is central to school success
- 5) both language development and school success are central to personal growth
- 6) language must not be fragmented, but kept whole and meaningful
- 7) students explore and extend thinking and language through reading and writing, and they explore and extend literacy through speaking and listening. (Goodman, et at., 1987)

Whole language programs are based on the most recent understanding of the communicative nature of language and

the nature of literacy learning (Goodman, 1986; Harste, Woodward and Burke, 1984; Shuy, 1984; Smith, 1988). They represent a real departure in this country from a deficit view of learners with an emphasis on "diagnosis" and "weakness," to a more positive view of learners, emphasizing their cultures, their interests, and their strengths (Cochrane, et al., 1984; Stephens, 1990; Weaver, 1988, 1990).

The whole language paradigm is described as a philosophical approach to teaching/learning that is integrated and supportive of the learning styles, language, cultures, interests and intentions of the children. Whole language teachers promote risk-free natural learning environments where students can cooperatively explore reading, writing, learning and decision-making without fear of failure and ridicule (Cochrane, et al., 1984; Goodman, 1986; Graves, 1980; Harste, Woodward and Burke, 1984; Newman, 1985).

Whole language is a newer curricular paradigm which attempts to create classroom contexts that are more relevant to the children involved, inviting the children to share their language and their culture as part of their classroom learning. Literacy events in whole language classrooms are designed to replicate natural language learning processes. Research suggests that good readers use all the language cueing systems effectively: the semantic (meaning), the

syntactic (grammatical), and the grapho-phonic (sound and letter associations) (Goodman, 1965; 1986). Good readers also efficiently employ predicting, confirming and correcting strategies during the reading process as they create meaning (Goodman, 1987; Newman, 1985; Smith, 1982). Whole language teachers keep the language intact and bring learners through the process of making meaning, i.e., reading. They do not fragment the language and teach either parts of the language or part of the process. They do not treat the language as an object for study. They engage children in using the language for authentic purposes, demonstrating process, facilitating children's use of language as a tool for learning, and moving the children toward standard forms.

Harste, Woodward and Burke (1984); Tierney (1986), and others propose that literacy research conducted in such natural or collaborative learning environments can better detect what children do as they explore print. Assumptions about the reading and writing processes underlying a whole language learning curriculum may be summarized as follows:

1. Reading and writing are meaning-making events.
2. Cognitive processes underlying reading and writing are driven by the search for a unified meaning or "text."
3. Readers and writers, in the search for meaning, begin with what they know and extend this in the process of going beyond what they know.
4. Children learn language in all its forms in the same way, through exploring language in use.

5. Reading and writing are multimodal and social events.

6. Reading and writing vary by the circumstances of use with respect to function and form, e.g., journals, letters, and stories.

7. Successful reading and writing requires an orchestration of form and function to create a text, allowing for a literacy event to be a "lived through experience" in a given written language context. (Goodman, 1986; Harste, Pierce and Cairney, 1985)

Becoming literate is seen as a process that occurs over time. Instructional experiences developed by teachers are intended to be informed, intentional and planned as a total program and not "lesson-planned" or "isolated skills" oriented. Such classrooms are designed to be rich in language, literature, concepts, and children's collaborations as they read and write. Such classrooms are said to invite children to explore language in all its forms. In so doing, the children learn how written language works as they use it for their own communication purposes.

Effect of Classroom Environment. The culture of the school is a complex one comprised of many parts including, but not limited to, language, atmosphere and attitudes (climate), and the actual physical setting. The importance of context in comprehending language and in comprehending children's language learning has been understood for some time (DeFord, 1984). The importance of classroom climate in understanding classroom learning is only recently coming to be fully appreciated. (Erickson and Shultz, 1981).

Studies of aspects of classroom climate have occurred since the inception of educational research. Over the years thousands of studies have been conducted in the areas of teacher effectiveness, direct vs. indirect instruction, formal vs. informal instruction, structured vs. non-structured environment, child-centered vs. curriculum-centered presentations, process vs. products. (Dunkin & Biddle, 1974). Most of this research has been descriptive, rationalistic, and conducted with white middle class assumptions about language, behavior and values (Hamilton, 1983).

However, a few studies of classroom environments or contexts of learning are being conducted with naturalistic methodologies. While many beliefs about appropriate classroom conditions have passed from the literature, a consensus has been forming from these newer research perpectives that seems to permeate most of the literature of the 1980's. It may be summarized as follows:

1. School are based on a community of interests, whether or not that is overtly recognized in the curriculum. The effectiveness of schooling is the result of the extent to which schooling is the shared experience of parents, teachers and students, based on a commonality of implicit knowledge and expectations.

2. Schools which are flexible and informal enough to take instructional advantage of the attributes of the students tend to be more effective.

3. Schools based around competition and strongly academic criteria tend to lead to poorer self-concepts and lowered performance for a majority of students.

4. Schools based around goal setting and collaboration (i.e., a sense of ownership) are associated with raised self-concepts and higher performance for a majority of students.

5. The variables which control climate are both the structure of the organization and the influences the teacher brings to the classrooms.

6. Socialization is more than just a desirable by-product of schooling. It is a prerequisite to increased performance on the part of students.

7. Students of diverse cultural and socio-economic groups receive differential, and in some instances detrimental, treatment in school.

8. Children from all socio-economic and cultural groups have learned to make sense: they have learned to use language as a tool for thinking and doing. However, once in school, they must now approach language as a set of rules to be studied as well as a resource to be used. This requirement is problematic for some groups of children.

Hamilton (1983) points out that school is first and foremost a social setting governed by highly definite rules and expectations. This setting defines who does what and who learns. This is because in classrooms, these rules are culturally-based, and many are invisible "rules of the game." It is much more complex than learning the teacher's overt rules for classroom behavior. These unknown and unknowable rules may complicate and hinder learning.

> In classrooms where children use an oral discourse style that departs from both the teacher's expectation and this narrow literate standard, there is a decline in the quality and quantity of interaction during those

> very classroom activities which should provide the practice for the acquisition and mastery of literate discourse strategies. This differential access to practice and instruction cannot be attributed to individual teachers or students. What occurs in classrooms is influenced by many things, including standardized testing and tracking policies, cutbacks in support staff, and the overcrowding of classrooms. What differences in discourse style do is introduce an additional factor into an already complex classroom setting. Moreover, cummulatively, this kind of disharmonious interaction results in a pattern of differential treatment and negative evaluation. These, in turn, diminish the students' access to the kind of instruction and practice necessary for the acquisition of literacy. (Collins and Michaels, 1986, pp. 221-222)

That classrooms are defined by the teacher and control resides with the teacher is not surprising. The personal needs, attitudes and values of the children are supposed to be adjusted for the good of the group. The needs of the organization and the goal of molding as many children as possible to fit the middle/ mainstream ideal is the focus of schooling (Hamilton, 1983).

Rosenholtz and Simpson (1984) found in their work that classrooms arranged along a hierarchy of perceived ability produce more inequality among students in student perceptions of academic self-concept, perceptions of others' abilities, and importance of school. The more differentiation was made among the students in this arrangement, the more inequality resulted. Thus, flexible climates based on shared power, e.g., goal setting, decision making, and grouping, tended to raise the expectations and performance of the majority of students, not just the academically talented.

Moll (1986) asserts that setting, organizational structure and climate are the determining factors which predict school success. Mehan (1979) and Cazden (1981) also argue that what goes on in school on a daily basis counts, and it counts a lot. These researchers shift the responsibility for school failure away fron the characteristics of the children and toward a more general social process. The source of the children's problems in school is not to be found in their language or culture; most of the difficulty lies in those implicit rules of the game to which divergent groups are not privy.

The importance of school personnel, especially teachers, in determining the environment, adjusting the rules of the game to fit the players, and interpreting the organizational structure cannot be overestimated (Brophy, 1982). Such studies confirm several factors. First, children learn much more than academics at school. Second, congruence between school and community contributes significantly to children's sense of need for harmony. Finally, building a sense of harmony and community within the classroom tends to contribute to raised achievement.

In practice, however, that sense of community may not exist. While all schools in a system may be ostensibly structured in the same way, schools serving children of low socio-economic, minority, and ethnic backgrounds may, and frequently do, interact differently with their students--in

negative ways (McDermott, 1974). For instance, middle class children may have the notion of personal responsibility thrust at them in school, while children of low socio-economic groups and ethnic minorities are imbued with the notion of submission and dependence (Hamilton, 1983).

Cook-Gumperz (1981) found that children's natural informal learning outside school is not much of a resource for them in school. Teachers decontextualize the information they wish to impart by creating predictable situations which highlight the verbal message. At home children learn by interacting in much more complex and varied situations. Simons and Gumperz (1979) suggest that all children, especially low achieving and lower socio-economic children, learn to keep home and school discourse contexts separate and try to employ strategies that select the salient interpretive cues from the message. Where an ethnically based difference in discourse strategies occurs, it is harder for children to recognize the cues. Informal, literature-rich, child-centered classrooms appear to provide the best environments in which children can learn to recognize these cues and learn the keys to school literacy (Taylor, 1986).

Cook-Gumperz (1981) summarizes the research on classroom context and learning and indicates that while the overt message of schooling is the teaching/learning of the specific content of different subject areas, the children

must find, select, evaluate, and integrate this information in discourse sequences. That is, children must learn what to highlight and what to background with specific discourse structures--the language "rules of the game." Middle class children come to school knowing many of these rules implicitly. Poor and ethnic minority children frequently do not. For instance, many ethnic minority children are taught not to look an adult directly in the eye. The teacher, when angry, may demand, "Look at me when I am taking to you." This leaves the child confused and sometimes frightened.

Likewise, middle class parents tend to employ rhetorical questions as a natural part of their repetoire for teaching and interacting with their children. "What is that animal?" "What color is this car?" and so on. However, many ethnic minority parents do not employ rhetorical questions. They tend to ask real questions because they want to know. "What do you want?" or "Where is your brother?" In school, however, rhetorical questions are a standard tool. For children who have never been asked one, it is confusing. They must wonder what the teacher is really doing, doesn't she know the answer? They usually say nothing, not knowing how to respond for certain. The teacher may conclude they are stupid or lack sufficient oral language--neither of which is true. The rules of the game are not clear.

Research has shown that teachers' treatment of children is, to a very large degree, determined by the children's verbal skills. This means that it is not so much what is known by a child, but how that child uses language to reveal his or her knowledge and information (Cook-Gumperz, 1981).

In sum, language is the foundation for learning in school, but that it can also be the means for the exclusion of children is a relatively new finding. All children benefit from language rich, culturally relevant and cooperative classroom environments. However, for at-risk children, it appears that the most successful teachers may be those who can "unpack" the complex rules of standard discourse as well as those who intuitively know how to create classroom cultures for divergent groups of children that do not rely on children playing by rules they cannot know (Michaels, 1981).

Children learn something from the total learning environment including the social interactions. Therefore, teachers' attitudes toward the children and their expectations are vitally important (Mehan, 1980; Pearson, 1984; Raphael, 1984). Cazden (1988), however, cautions against extremes in concluding the nature of the relationship among language, teaching and classroom environments. Much research on classroom discourse attempts to explicate the implicit rules governing appropriate language use that teachers know and children must learn.

However, we need to be aware of the limits of the "classroom as culture" metaphor. Classrooms are places in which a community of people are changing, and whose change the environment should be specifically designed to support. But classroom environment or context is never wholly of the participant's making. Conditions both within the classroom and outside it are contributors. Our descriptions of the language of teaching and learning must be open to continual revision.

In short, the development of the best classroom climates for diverse groups of children appears to hinge on the delicate balance between those experiences deemed important for the learner's future success and those experiences that support the children and allow them to feel good about themselves now (King,et. al., 1984).

The At-Risk Child. The rapid growth of a complex information driven society has altered not only our views of ourselves and our definitions of literacy but also our view and definitions of those who are at risk of failure to become literate. There is a body of literature focusing on the problems that at-risk children have in acquiring school-based literacy. Addressing the needs of at-risk children, especially those from ethnic and racial minorities, is to a large extent a domain having its roots in the "Great Society". However, much of this research stemmed from

untenable arguments about the intellectual and linguistic inferiority of these minority children.

During the sixties, the term "disadvantaged" became the term by which poor and/or at-risk children were referred. The "disadvantaged" were described as being in need of considerable effort on the part of schools to bring them "up to standard." They were at a disadvantage because they weren't middle class. Several areas of effort emerged. First, there was great emphasis on developing models of effective education designed especially for the disadvantaged child (Watson 1970). Sometimes these models, although well-intentioned, were based on ill-conceived or even spurious theories.

Second came the idea that "disadvantaged" children needed compensatory education to help them overcome their societally induced deficiencies. Disadvantaged children were thought to lack emotional stability, verbal and cognitive ability, experiential development, personality development, etc. Nearly all the literature of the time in this area was pejorative and condescending. For instance, Walls and Smith (1970) looked at the need for effective training of disadvantaged children in delay of gratification. Teachers were told disadvantaged children need experience in delay of gratification. Teachers were told disadvantaged children (usually refering to inner-city Black children) needed structure and organization in their

lives. One source even advised that, especially with disadvantaged students, teachers should keep very neat bulletin boards to give students a sense of security (Trubowitz, 1968). Considerable emphasis was placed on techniques for modifying the unacceptable classroom behavior of disadvantaged children (Gwinn, 1976). Teachers were taught that teaching disadvantaged children should proceed from oral language to reading and finally, writing, given their deficits in language and cognitive skills (Davidson, 1962).

Most definitions of high risk children, in the literature of that era, labled them poor, minority, and underachieving and led nowhere. For instance, Arnold (1971) wrote that since both Black and Hispanic children demonstrate the same types of reading performances on tests, they should benefit from the same instruction. The basis for this position is unclear, nor is it clear to what instruction the writer was refering. However, from the early sixties into the eighties, at least two continuing areas of investigation and recommendation relative to non-mainstream learners are evident. First, the importance of self-concept on school achievement and later-life success cannot be emphasized too strongly (Carlson, 1970; Rousse, 1980), and second, the need to make instruction compatible with the diverse cultures found in American schools (Granger and Young, 1978; Logan, 1972) is also evident.

It is clear that the obvious failure of compensatory and model programs for minority underachievers stems from the use of traditional methods or standard materials or both (Watson, 1970). Rather than blaming the children, educators finally have begun to recognize that their lack of understanding of the cultures of diverse groups, the classroom culture and the impact of large social currents affect the school achievement of poor and ethnic minority students.

By the mid-1980's, the literature on the disadvantaged, now usually defined as those children "at-risk of school failure," still focused on the poor and ethnic minorities. It also continued to center on the two areas of inquiry named above. The importance to school achievement of self-concept, how one defines one's self-worth and place in the world, is clear. It is also clear that one's self-concept is, in part, at least determined by the larger society (Neisser, 1986). In addition, the need to better understand the cultures of diverse at-risk groups is now an educational priority. Many ethnographic studies are providing a considerable database that may help educators find ways to make the culture of the school more compatible with the needs of the at-risk learner (Au, 1981; Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981; Taylor, 1983; Wells, 1986).

Educational Ethnography. Anthropological methodologies, that is to say, qualitative, naturalistic, ethnographic-

style research procedures are gaining acceptance in all fields of the social sciences, including education. The major problem faced by such researchers has been and is how valid meaning be drawn from qualitative, subjective data? (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Several steps are required to ensure that the meaning drawn is firmly grounded in the data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that prolonged engagement, triangulation and peer debriefing increase the probability that the findings of a naturalistic study will be "credible" or internally valid. Glaser and Strauss (1967), Dunkin and Biddle (1974), Bogdan and Biklen (1982) and others hold that the final and most important safeguard to the validity of conclusion drawn lies in the use of a step-by-step procedure for data analysis. All steps must be explicit and replicable. In general, the recommended steps of a qualitative, naturalistic study are: a) determine the type of study, b) narrow the study, c) develop research questions and plan the data collection and analysis procedures carefully (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982).

Nowhere in education is naturalistic research more needed than in literacy development. And no aspect of literacy development is more urgently in need of investigation than the literacy development of poor, minority, at-risk children. Not only has traditional schooling failed many at-risk learners, but traditional "horse race" types of research have failed to tell us why

(Cook-Gumperz, et.al, 1981). Too little is known about the daily events that constitute school learning for all children and even less is known about at-risk minority groups (Bloome, 1981; Neisser, 1986).

Summary. The goal of educational research has always been to improve children's opportunities to learn. Public schools are enormously expensive to maintain and are under constant attack for their seemingly low success rate. The percentages of minority group enrollment in public schools is larger than ever and growing. "The very children for whom schools have been least successful will increasingly make up its student population" (Mikulecky, 1987, p. 2).

The disparity in literacy development and later-life success between poor minority persons and their more advantaged counterparts is well documented. Non-literate and semi-literate persons may not only be unemployed in the future; they may be unemployable due to the high-tech nature of future industries and to ever-increasing job training and retaining demands (Bertrand, 1987).

The unemployable person will be doomed to suffer the stresses of poverty and the feelings of hopelessness, anger, and powerlessness such circumstances produce (Kozol, 1986; Mikulecky, 1987). The ultimate cost to the nation is great. Therefore, studies of literacy development for at-risk, minority populations are extremely important.

Currently, literacy seems to imply a knowledge base, an enculturation into ways of thinking, interpreting, and using language successfully for survival and growth in a rapidly changing, technologically advanced society. Various cultural groups successfully use literacy in a variety of ways, but not all of them are successfully literate in the larger society. Attitudes and values toward literacy and toward self seem to be the determining characteristics. But the roots of literacy are complex and stem not only from cultural attitudes and values but from classroom experiences as well. Cooperative, collaborative learning environments in which the children feel some sense of ownership and partnership and in which there is minimal discrimination and competition appear to be most conducive to educational achievement.

For these and other reasons, whole language classrooms would appear to offer a better opportunity for literacy development than traditional programs, especially for at-risk learners. These issues are complex and quantitative. Experimental research methodologies will tell us if one program produces better achievement than another only if the number of subjects is large enough, and measures sufficiently valid. Even so, they cannot tell us why.

Procedures

The Participants. This study was conducted with forty-four children, eighteen to twenty-two in the traditional classroom and twenty-two to twenty-six at any given time, in the whole language classroom. More than 80% of the children were considered at-risk of school failure by virtue of low socio-economic status as identified by eligibility for free lunch. "At-risk of school failure," for purposes of the research, also consisted of any three of four additional conditions:

1. A child scored below the mean on the reading comprehension section of the locally administered standardized achievement test.
2. A child was identified as at-risk of school failure by the classroom teacher.
3. A child was a member of a non-intact nuclear family.
4. A child was living in publicly subsidized housing.

These identifying characteristics appear to be highly correlated with school failure (Schorr, 1988). The school was selected because the researchers had a long and warm working relationship with the school, because it served a large population of at-risk children, and because it contained several emerging whole language as well as several quality traditional classrooms from which to choose. The final pair of teachers for the qualitative study was selected based on their similarities to each other and their willingness to participate. In each case the teacher was

kind, conscientious, and humane, and the children in their respective classrooms appeared to be happy. Both teachers had taught for more than 10 years. Both were working toward master's degrees and both had taught in this school for more than 5 years.

The teacher and children in the whole language classroom exhibited the following attributes:

1. The teacher identified herself as a whole language teacher on the DeFord (1985) Theoretical Orientation to the Reading Process (TORP).

2. The children were engaged in process writing (Graves, 1983).

3. The teacher planned instructional events based on thematic units to integrate the curriculum.

4. The teacher read aloud several times daily to the children from a variety of sources, both, fiction and non-fiction.

5. The children read to themselves daily from a variety of sources, both, fiction and non-fiction.

6. The children engaged in formal and informal conferences with the teacher and classmates concerning their writing and their reading.

The teacher and children in the traditional classroom exhibited the following attributes.

1. The teacher identified herself as traditional, a phonics skills teacher on the TORP.

2. The teacher used ability grouping for reading instruction within the classroom.

3. The teacher engaged the children engaged in round-robin oral reading.

4. The teacher planned instruction so that each subject was taught separately and was based on a textbook or workbook.

5. The teacher planned instruction based on a skills list.

6. The teacher employed objective-based lesson plans.

The whole language classroom was identified by the following artifacts:

1. A classroom library containing over 500 trade books from which children could choose was readily accessible.

2. Children's projects such as book publishing, group stories, science projects, etc., were visible for the other children to explore and enjoy.

3. Children's writing folders, containing work in progress, were employed in the classroom.

The traditional classroom was identified by the following artifacts:

1. The teacher completed the state-mandated skills management system or the local school system's state-approved skills list.

2. The teacher instructed from the adopted basal reading program, complete with workbooks and teacher's manual.

3. Students completed worksheets for isolated skills instruction.

While any two programs may be compared, they should not necessarily be compared on a point-by-point basis. That is, one cannot criticize whole language teachers for not using sight word flash cards nor traditional teachers for not implementing thematic units. This has strong implication in planning methodology. Therefore, this study is characterized as descriptive in nature and comparisons are left to the reader.

The Curriculum. In whole language classrooms, instruction is supposed to concern itself with making meaning for a purpose. Children listen to literature; they read and write daily; they respond to literature in group discussions as well as through writing; and they integrate their background experiences with their learning in the classroom. Whole language teachers help children become consciously aware of the processes involved in reading and writing through demonstrations and through reading and writing conferences. Children share favorite stories (oral and written) as well as their own daily writings. An abundance of varied forms of print--newspapers, catalogs, children's literature, magazines, student generated written language, environmental print, etc., is made available. Most reading and writing relates to events of interest or to thematic units being developed revolving around literature, science or social status content. Time is set aside daily for both silent reading and silent writing. The teachers spend a good deal of time engaged in "kid watching" (Goodman, 1985) as a means of documenting and informally assessing student progress.

Materials are designed to be the central focus in traditional classrooms. Instruction concerns itself with the teaching of "basic skills." Most developmental reading instruction consists of ability grouping and round robin, oral reading using the adopted basal reader and lessons

provided in the teacher's manual. Many of the activities a holistic, literature-based, comprehension-centered program would encourage such as language experience, learning centers, journal writing and reading aloud to children are not possible because under a traditional model teachers have to make time for direct instruction of isolated skills as well as preparation for and administration of basic skills tests.

The Beginning. The initial plan was to collect data in four phases using a modified version of Corsaro (1985): Phase I - Entry into the classroom; Phase II - Participant observations; Phase III - Videotaping; and Phase IV - Theoretical sampling and exit (See Figure 4). However, because the researchers were not experienced ethnographers, we decided to move most aspects of Phase III into Phase II for a more accurate and complete record. This resulted in the research consisting of three phrases. The study focused as exclusively as possible on the children as they engaged in literacy events. When the study began, a working rule for units of data collection was devised: observe children from the time they enter a literacy event until the initiator leaves it for another kind of activity (Rowe, 1986).

All field notes were to be "stream of consciousness" in an attempt to record as accurately and as fully as possible everything that occurred within each literacy transaction

being observed (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). All notes and tapes were to be transcribed. Observational note data were to be tagged at five to fifteen minute intervals by researchers, then combined and expanded through the use of observer comments. The plan required that at the end of each day or two, the researchers would write a one or two page summary of what they thought they were finding, with reference drawn to events in the field notes that supported the tentative findings.

Data Collection Procedures

	Duration	Focus	Techniques
Phase 1	4 wks Aug/Sept	Field Entry	Participant /observations Field notes
	3 days a week one class 2 days in the other, alternating	Negotiating role of participant observer	Collecting of artifacts
		Becoming familiar with the setting and children	Informal interviews
		Describing the setting and the teacher	
Phase 2	12 weeks Sept/Nov	Developing definitional literacy event in each classroom	Participant/observation Field notes
	3 days in one class 2 days in another alternating	Developing categories of data	Collecting artifacts
		Describing the children engaging in literacy	Informal interviews w/ teachers and children
			Videotapes and field notes
Phase 3		Developing hypotheses	
	Final 6 weeks April/May	Theoretical sampling	Participant/observation Field notes
	3 days in one class, 2 in the other, alternating	Refining hypostheses	Videotapes/audiotapes
		Developing paradigms	Collecting artifacts
		Field exit	Formal interviews

Figure 4

All artifacts were to be photocopied and labeled according to the field note/video note section that described the production of that artifact. Since the goal of the data collection was to develop hypotheses about the effects of similarities and differences in literacy learning between these two classroom, researchers were to attempt to make sure that each of the three communications systems--speaking, reading, writing-- were well represented. However, consistently audible tapes proved difficult to obtain. Practical circumstances prevented having the desired quality of audio. A high-quality directional microphone, in addition to the video camera micro-phone would have been a better choice. Although the researchers were usually near the group being observed and recorded some of the exchanges in the field notes, much of the interactions among the students was unintelligable on the video tapes.

Data Analysis Plan. In-process data analysis was to be employed to assist methodological decisions. These guided the emerging design, grounding of theory, structure of later data collection phases, and development of substantive hypotheses about the differences and similarities in literacy learning between these two programs. These analyses included: a) organizing and cataloging the data; b) using the constant-comparative method of analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; to identify patterns in the data and to

generate hypotheses; c) inventorying the theoretical notes and summaries to guide theoretical sampling; d) using informal teacher/researcher interviews (indefinite triangulation) to learn about other participants' observations and interpretations of classroom events; e) using peer debriefing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) with outside colleagues to gain new perspectives on methodological and theoretical reviewing and transcribing videotaped events; and f) conducting a linguistic analysis of selected reading and writing samples.

The constant comparative method is concerned with generating and plausibly suggesting many properties and characteristics about a general phenomenon, in this case learning to read and write in two different types of classroom curricula. No attempt is made to discover the universe or proof of the properties and characteristics of all such classrooms. Judgments of external validity or generalability are left to the consumer who may wish to apply these findings to other similar settings.

This method of data analysis can be described in four stages: a) comparing incidents applicable to each category; b) integrating categories and their properties; c) delimiting the theory; and d) writing the theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

In theoretical sampling, the researcher focuses on some categories that seem relevant as a means of allowing the

scope of the problem to emerge. However, the analyst should remain in a state of "theoretical sensitivity" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in order to conceptualize and formulate the theory as it emerges from the data (See Appendix C).

Trustworthiness and Safeguards. Trustworthiness of conclusions was to be safeguarded in the following ways: a) prolonged participant observation, b) triangulated data collection methods and sources (field notes, children's written work, videotapes), c) peer debriefing, and d) use of the constant-comparative method of analysis.

Initial Data Intake

We entered this pair of classrooms during the first week of school in August 1987 and quickly discovered two important facts. One, it was much easier to define a literacy event in the abstract than to select one and focus on it from beginning to end, especially in the working whole language classroom. To solve that problem we selected 10 children in each classroom who were all at-risk and whose achievement stanine scores on total reading from the previous spring were between 2 and 5. This served two purposes. It allowed us to get to what we wanted to see quicker because we picked out whoever of these 10 children in each classroom appeared to be beginning a literacy event when we started the day, and it allowed us to get to know these 20 children a little better. In some ways we treated

each classroom as if it had only 10 children in it. Second, we discovered that as beginning ethnographers we tended to be overwhelmed with what we were seeing and not to be very good note takers. Therefore, we decided to introduce the video immediately, for backup and confirmatory data, rather than in Novémber as originally planned.

In addition, we determined during the first week or two that part of our focus had to be on the two teachers because of our desire to compare these classrooms. We also decided to focus on the teachers because each teacher's classroom structure was so different from the other. Therefore, we spent half our time during the first two months looking at each teacher and half focusing on the selected children as they engaged in literacy learning. Observations taken during the third and fourth months were devoted solely to focus on the children.

Videotapes were made during the 1-1/2 to 2 hour block of reading/language arts time in the traditional classroom and during the 2 to 2-1/2 hour block of reading time and language workshop in the whole language classroom. In both classrooms, the reading/language arts block took place first thing each morning. Videotapes were taken from August into December two days per week in each classroom, rotating days so as to get a full view of the language arts block on all the days of the week. An assessment of obtrusiveness, as suggested by Corsaro (1985) was made. After the first few

Whole Language Schedule

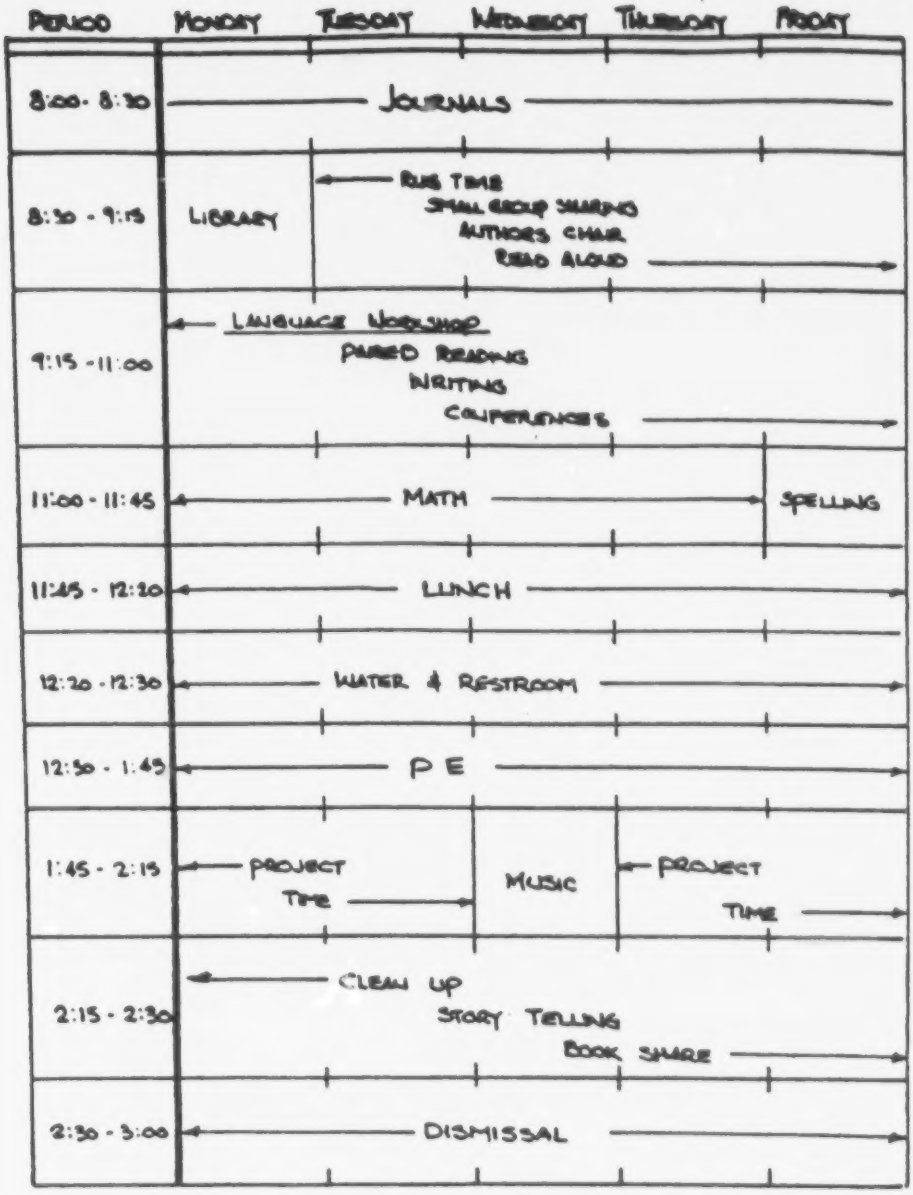


Figure 5

Traditional Schedule

PERIOD	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:00 - 8:10	ROUTINE'S AND CLASS BUSINESS				
8:10 - 9:15	LIBRARY	READING			
9:15 - 9:20	RESTROOM				
9:20 - 9:45	LIBRARY	READING			
9:45 - 10:15	PE				
10:15 - 10:30	HEALTH				
10:30 - 11:00	MATH				
11:00 - 11:20	WRITING				
11:20 - 11:35	LANGUAGE ARTS				
11:35 - 11:45	RESTROOM				
11:45 - 12:15	LUNCH				
12:15 - 1:15	LANGUAGE ARTS				
1:15 - 2:15	MUSIC	ART	MUSIC	SCIENCE	ART
2:15 - 2:30	PREPARE TO DISMISS				
2:30 - 3:00	DISMISS & PLANNING TIME				

Figure 6

days, the children essentially ignored the camera, treating it and us as a natural part of their classroom.

During the first month, we described the general time frames operating the physical settings created by each teacher in these classrooms. Figures 5 and 6 present the daily time frames created by each teacher. The whole language teacher worked with large blocks of time (Figure 5). The traditional teacher tended to segment her class day into smaller time slots, usually corresponding to subject matter shifts (Figure 6). The reading/language arts block is rugtime and language workshop in the whole language classroom. The reading and language arts periods were separate in the traditional classroom, and they totaled a shorter block than in the whole language classroom even when all the times slots are added together. They were also divided by three other subjects, and writing was separate from either reading or language arts. We attempted to view all aspects of reading/language arts instruction in each classroom, but due to our university schedules, we were not able to spend much time in the portion of language arts scheduled in the afternoon slot in the traditional classroom. According to the teacher, she generally worked on grammar during that time.

Figures 7 and 8 present a view of the physical arrangement of each classroom. The whole language classroom (Figure 7) was a portable in front of the school, while the

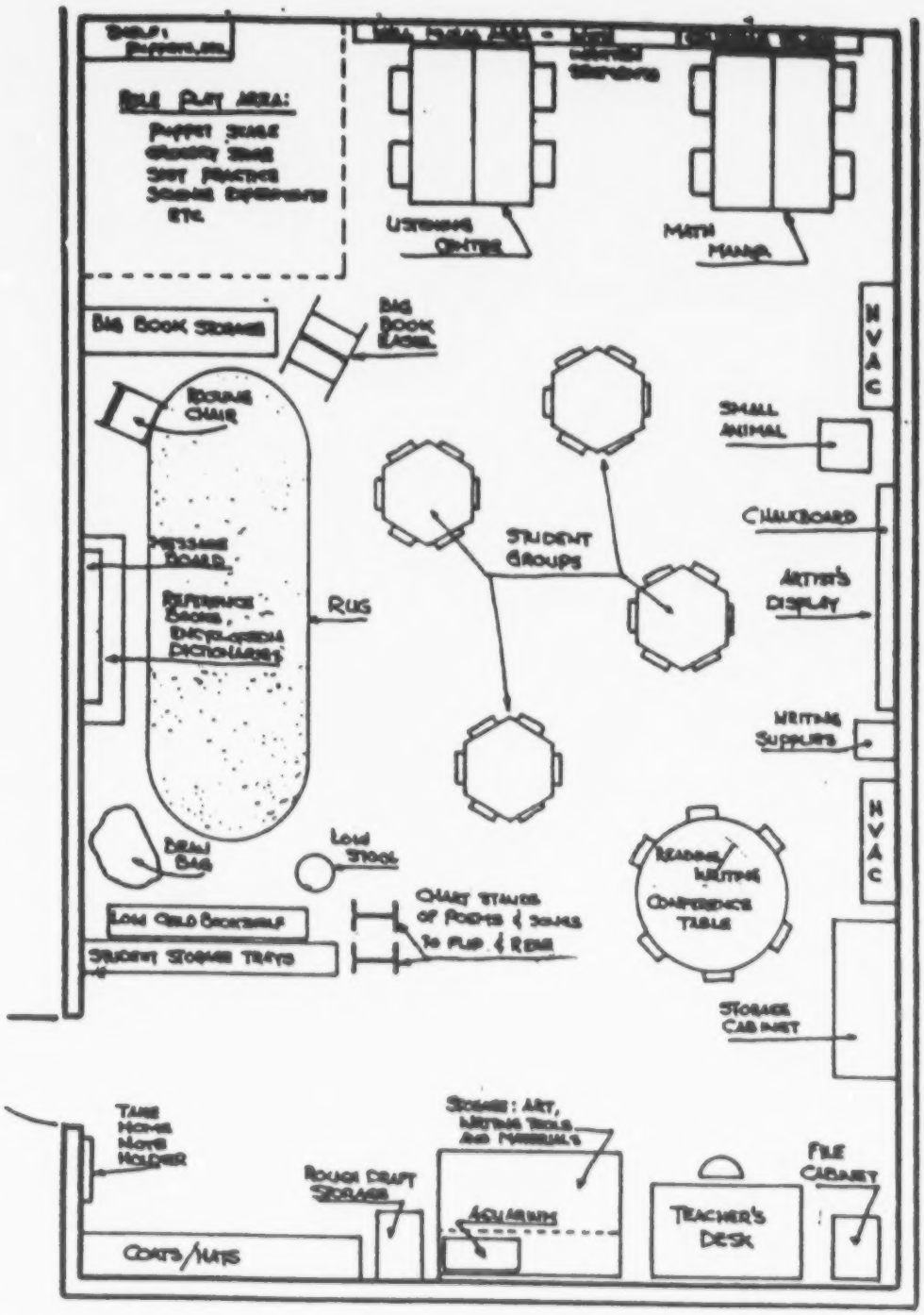

ROLE PLAY AREA:
PUPPET STAGE
GROCERY STORE
SIGHT PRACTICE
SCIENCE EXPERIMENTS
ETC.
LISTENING CENTER
MATH MANIP.
BIG BOOK STORAGE
BIG BOOK EASEL
ROCKING CHAIR
HVAC
SMALL ANIMAL
CHALKBOARD
STUDENT GROUPS
ARTIST'S DISPLAY
RUG
WRITING SUPPLIES
HVAC
READING WRITING CONFERENCE TABLE
LOW STOOL
CHART STANDS OF POEMS & SONGS TO FLIP & READ
STORAGE CABINET
TAPE HOLDER
ROUGH DRAFT STORAGE
AQUARIUM
TEACHER'S DESK
FILE CABINET
COATS/HATS

Figure 7

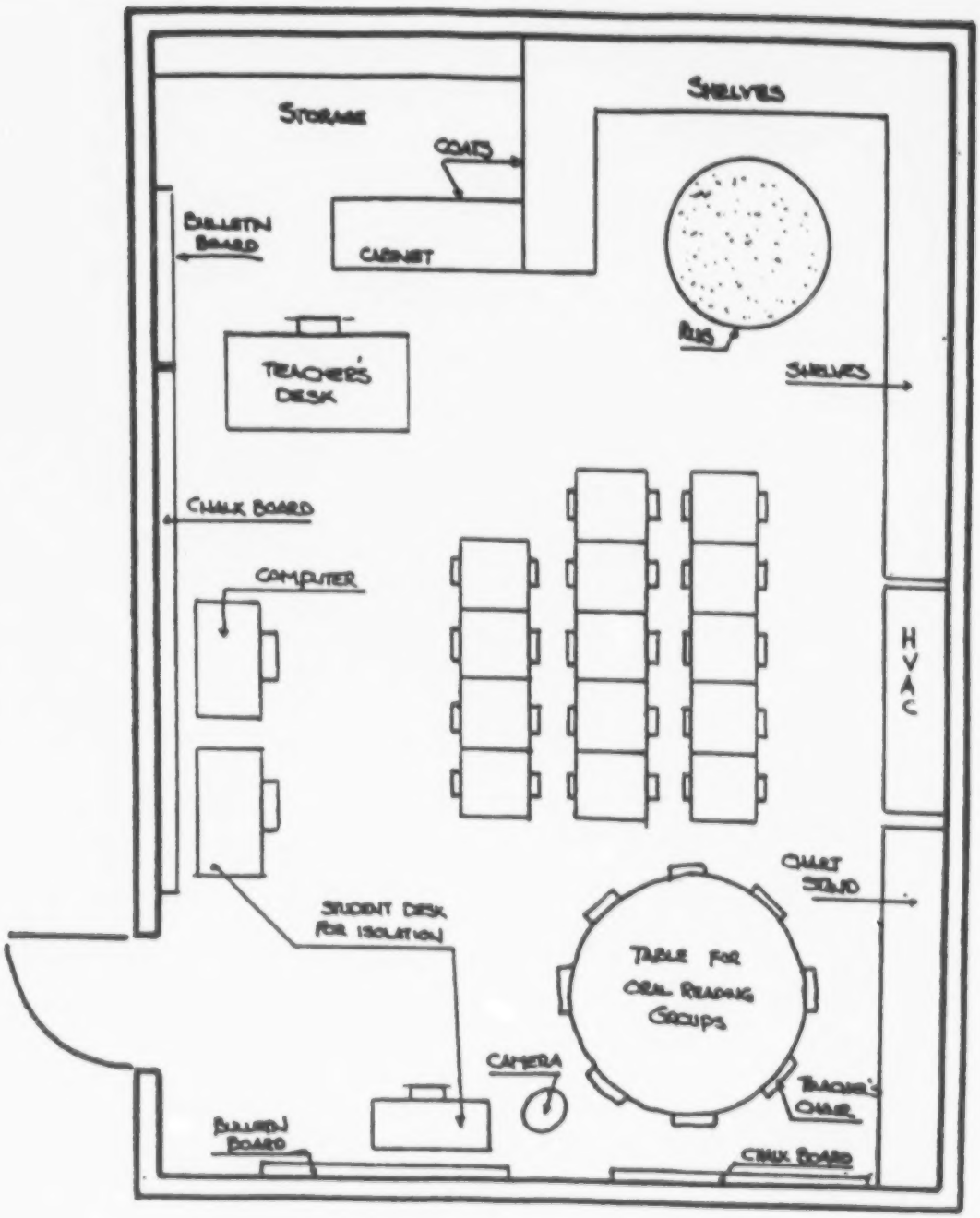

STORAGE
SHELVES
COATS
BULLETIN BOARD
CABINET
RUG
TEACHER'S DESK
SHELVES
CHALK BOARD
COMPUTER
HVAC
CHART STAND
STUDENT DESK FOR ISOLATION
TABLE FOR ORAL READING GROUPS
CAMERA
TEACHER'S CHAIR
BULLETIN BOARD
CHALK BOARD

Figure 8

traditional classroom (Figure 8) was inside the building in the wing next to the portable. The classrooms were roughly comparable in size and shape. However, the two classrooms had a fundamentally different look. The whole language classroom appeared to be fuller. It employed tables, more shelves, more equipment, more books, and more displays than the traditional classroom.

> The room is brightly lit. Children's writing and drawings are up everywhere. There is a collection of titles of big books in back. There is also the text of one on the board on the front wall. (It is a song). The message board has messages attached. The windows have a story on them similar to **The Very Hungry Caterpillar**. There are two guinea pigs, some fish, and a caterpillar of questionable status (dead, dying or just barely hanging on). The large rug invites children to sit on it at any time of the day. There are stuffed animals. It is a very inviting room. (Fieldnotes, 9/3/87).

In contrast, the traditional classroom was more sparse and neat:

> The room is large and very spacious. The students' desks are in the center of the room. Today it is hot because the air conditioner does not work. This room once had many windows, but now there are only two. Metro covered the other windows with orange panels as an efficiency move. The windows are now good only for children's work. Across two of the panels is a display of children's work, ditto sheets with smiley faces on them. On the other panels are a "parts of speech" chart and commercial pictures of dinosaurs (for Cumberland Museum fieldtrip)? There is a place value chart near the door and a chart with numbers in order from 1-100. An animal mobile with vowel sounds hangs from one of the light fixtures. The bulletin board is decorated with book jackets and the word READ in large stenciled letters. (Fieldnotes, 9/11/87).

The traditional classroom also contained one large round table for group oral reading and other work with the teacher. Both rooms retained essentially the same configurations throughout the year.

The camera was usually placed between the door and the round table in the traditional classroom and between the conference table and writing supplies shelf in the whole language room.

Actual Analysis Procedures. This type of group comparison is designed to provide basic properties of categories and basic differences so as to form the beginning of significant ideas. The steps in the constant comparative (See Appendix C) analysis are supposed to maximize differences between groups, increasing the possibility that we would collect the most valid data on a category. This in turn aided in broadening the scope of the inquiry. While it was the plan to begin the data analysis on the first day, we soon understood the admonition of Bogdan and Biklen (1984) that the problems of "getting on in the field" are too consuming for beginners to allow them to actively pursue simultaneous analyses. Therefore, the formal constant-comparative analysis began after the Phase II and III data were compiled and transcribed. The following chart, Figure 9, describes how data analysis techniques were actually applied at each phase of the research (Rowe, 1986).

Data Analysis Procedures

	Focus	Technique
Phase 1	Select Classroom	Indefinite Triangulation
	Define methodological procedures for recording and cataloging artifacts	Peer debriefing
	Establishing a base for describing teachers and learners	
Phase 2	Estimating obtrusiveness of data collection methods	Bi-weekly review of field notes
	Catalog artifacts	Peer debriefing
	Search for patterns	Review of all field notes
	Develop preliminary hypotheses	Indefinite triangulation
Phase 3	Compile and transcribe video data	Combining of all video transcriptions
	Develop categories and hypotheses	Weekly review of all field notes and video data
		Indefinite triangulation
		Peer debriefing
		Formal application of constant comparative method
Phase 4	Guide theoretical sampling	Review of video transcriptions
	Develop reality paradigm	Review of field notes
	Refine and extend hypotheses	Beginning micro socio-linguistic analysis of field and video data and artifacts
	Check credibility of report. Include participants comments	Analysis of individual literacy learning search for negative cases
		Indefinite triangulation, peer debriefing Member check

Figure 9

Indefinite triangulation took at least two forms: a) informal discussion with the teachers about some of our observations, usually of specific children's activities and the artifacts being collected and b) occasionally the teachers' responses to some aspect of the field notes. The process introduced perspectives and information which helped derive a deeper understanding of events in these classrooms. Peer debriefing with colleagues and with paid consultants also helped in developing new perspectives on methodological and theoretical issues.

Memo writing, categorization and theory formulation were not simultaneous operations in this study; nevertheless, a rigorous data analysis procedure was undertaken following the collection of most of the initial data. The conclusions of the analysis are presented in the form of a substantive theory. To answer the first three research questions regarding the nature of the differences between these classrooms, formal steps in the constant-comparative method were applied as follows: First the data were read, memos written, and notations made in the margins for the 331 typewritten pages of field and video notes taken from observations in these two classrooms. This occurred following Phase III. The data were read to identify literacy episodes with each episode defined as teacher-focused (e.g., teacher directing the students to put their papers away and to open their workbooks to a particular

page), or child focused (e.g., child gets book from shelf and begins reading silently). The third step was to divide the field notes into separate literacy events on note cards and then to group these into categories (e.g., all examples of group oral reading of the basal or all instances of silent writing in pairs were grouped together). Fourth, the data within categories were read and re-grouped repeatedly with smaller categories collapsed into large ones as data begin to coalesce into larger ideas. Eventually, models of both classrooms, with focus on the teacher and focus on the learner, were attempted from full categories. It was our hope to begin to build a substantive theory that connected classroom events to differential learning outcomes in these two types of instructional programs.

Once the analysis was complete, the researchers re-entered both classrooms for focused observations. Descriptions of covert literacy events in the traditional classroom and its literacy - like avoidance counterpart in the whole language classroom were documented. An account of each type of event is included in this report.

An observation about the constant-comparative coding scheme is appropriate here. All social interactions are unitary, like tightly woven fabric (Mehan, 1979). The purpose of using a coding scheme was to dissect the interactions to expose the discrete parts. To persons who are interested in whole language kinds of classrooms, the

term "discrete parts" is almost anathema. It was very difficult for us, at some fundamental level, to categorize elements of the events being viewed. Assigning values such as, "refers to environmental print," takes turn reading for partner," "attends to teacher," lost the flow of the event being described. However, the act of coding, while temporarily losing information, was absolutely necessary if we were to validate our findings and if we were to keep from being overwhelmed by the mass of narration in the field and video notes. While recognizing that interactions are not really a discrete set of events, coding was a means to an end, a heuristic device that allowed us to describe some of the major variables operating in these two classrooms.

Building Models: From Practice to Theory

The goal of this study was to recognize a framework that represented reality in these two different classrooms so that we could begin to hypothesize how differences in the patterns of teacher-student, student-student, and student-text interactions might differentially affect learning.

Categories: Following the constant-comparative method of analysis, we grouped like events and subsumed small events into larger and larger units, discarding single events as outliers (e.g., a child and the resource teacher arguing in the doorway of the classroom). We repeated this process until the events or episodes from the data base were

copied onto note cards and physically stacked by category. Small categories were combined when appropriate. Finally, we actually began placing stacks of cards on chart paper on a large table as we attempted to visualize and then graphically represent the driving forces inherent in these classrooms.

Initially we thought the events might group themselves by such broad categories as internal/external (Tierney, Levy and Rogers, 1985). Although the readers and writers we observed did engage in reading/writing events with each other (external) and with themselves and the author when reading and with themselves as audience when writing (internal), this framework didn't really account for and display all the variability in these classrooms. It certainly didn't allow us to account for the richness of teacher--student, teacher-student-text interactions we were seeing.

Language mode didn't work either as the overarching framework. Our informants read, wrote, listened and talked, but each of these activities involved some or all of the others in the classroom in extremely complex ways. We also examined our data by transaction, student-student, student-text, student-teacher and three-way combination for each. These actually form subsets but are not the main drivers of these classrooms.

Individual and collaborative events didn't appear to work as categories either since children in the whole language classroom frequently began in collaboration and ended in parallel or individual work. Conversely, they sometimes began alone and then ended an event in collaboration with classmates. Frequently, they began and ended alone, with collaboration occurring in the middle. Also, the traditional teacher expressly prohibited collaborative effort on nearly all "seat work" activities, and nearly all seat work activities were accompanied by surreptitious collaboration or other covert literacy events.

However, as we discussed the collaborative and individual work of the children in each classroom, since this was a major difference between these two learning environments, we began to see a set of categories emerge that we later called compliance/non-compliance for both classrooms. That is, in both classrooms, children were either engaged in the event at hand or they were avoiding it in some way. As soon as we started examining the data from the perspective of compliance vs. non-compliance (which clearly took place in both classrooms), very different pictures of children's literary learning experience began to emerge.

The teacher focus data also fell into broad categories, and it too took several forms before we felt we had reached the broadest, clearest, most salient of the variables. At

first, we attempted to view the teacher focus data as direct instruction vs. facilitative interactions. Both teachers engaged in direct instruction while only one was more indirect and helpful or facilitative on a regular basis. This forms a subset, but we felt it was not the overarching set. Looking at the data in terms of type of event, i.e., teaching reading or teaching writing, was even less helpful. Each time we regrouped and started again.

Clearly, both teachers teach, that much was clear. What that looked like in each classroom was very difficult. This broad perspective produced substantive differences. Then we asked ourselves what else both teachers did that accounted for most of the remainder of their effort. Viewing the stack of cards and categories left when we combined all instances of teaching, we found that we had omitted instances of organizing. Both teachers spent the bulk of their non-teaching time organizing. This view yielded very different pictures of these two classrooms. The use of standard, pre-existing categories, identified by scholars in previous work was not helpful. In this type of research, the investigator(s) must allow the data to define and build their own constructs. The investigators are required to look at the data again and again until they can see beyond the surface and the known to the invisible, inherent drivers in the milieu. This is very difficult and

we are not satisfied that we have yet reached that level of insight with this study.

Focused Data Intake

Covert Literacy and Pretend Engagement. During the model-building phase of the data analysis we continued to look for similarities and differences between these classrooms. One major element we observed was the non-compliant behavior of the children. One group of children appeared to be covertly engaging in what the children in the other classroom were engaging in overtly. In other words, children in a traditional program appeared to be trying to invent a whole language classroom. We wanted to know more about that and to examine the comparable conditions that existed in the whole language classroom. To that end we went back into these classrooms in April, 1988, for theoretical sampling.

Phase IV, theoretical sampling or focused data intakes, examined children's "off-task" or non-compliant behavior. The video camera was again used in each of the classrooms as we looked for further instances of non-compliance.

In theoretical sampling the researchers are supposed to focus on some aspect of the data that seems relevant as a means of allowing the formulation of a theory to emerge from the data. Comparison of groups provides basic properties of a category and basic differences to form the beginning of

significant ideas. Maximizing differences between groups increases the possibility that the researcher will collect the most valid data on a category and aid in broadening the scope of the inquiry. The focused data intake lasted four weeks. As with the initial data intake, the constant comparative method of analysis was applied.

Discussion. After categorizing and regrouping data, we demonstrated that children in these two classrooms engaged in avoiding their given tasks in very different ways without the teacher's knowledge or approval. In the traditional classroom the given task was usually a workbook page, a ditto sheet or silent reading from the basal reader. It was nearly always to be completed in isolation while the teacher worked with a group of children at a table in a corner of the room. Our findings indicate that children strive to engage in meaningful learning even when the curriculum appears to them to lack continuity.

In the whole language classroom the agreed-upon task was usually some form of collaborative project involving writing and reading and stemming from literature, social studies, science, a field trip, or other class event. Children in this classroom appear to need time to be purely social even through the curriculum was content rich and encouraged cooperative learning.

The traditional classroom produced what we have called covert literacy as the primary component of off-task behavior. The following activities were observed during times when children were supposed to be working silently and alone on teacher assigned tasks.

Traditional Classroom:

1. While "off-task" behavior in this classroom may involve purely social interactions or individual children withdrawing, as in going to sleep, it most often involved two or more children in covert literacy. From an examination of the field and video notes we found:

    a. Two children behind a barricade of books writing a story.

    b. Two children surreptitiously reading and discussing a library book.

    c. A small group of children reading and passing around a comic book.

    d. A group of children making a game about going shopping, complete with made-up play money and a shopping list.

    e. A group of boys acting out a story in pantomime behind the bookshelves.

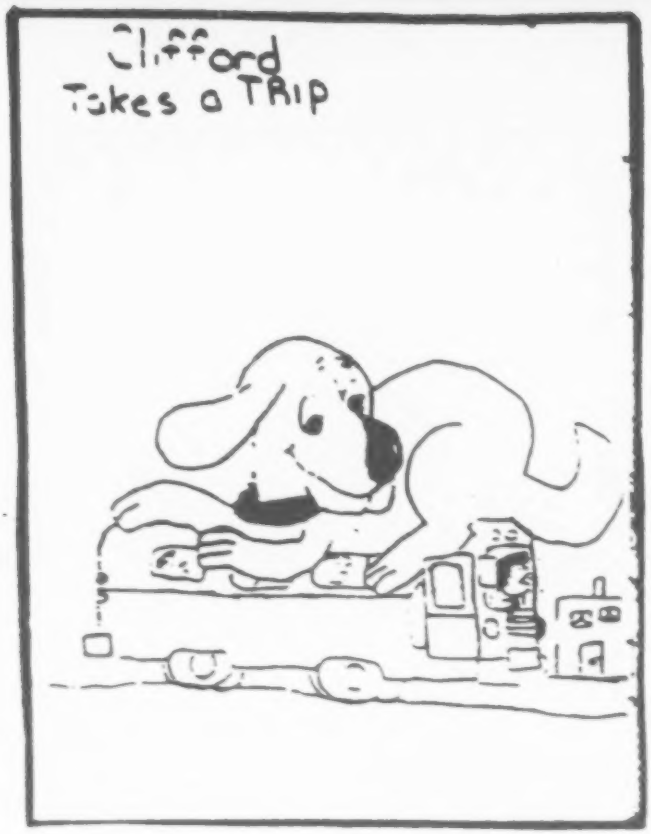
2. Such covert literacy events also involved individual children. From an examination of the field and video notes we found:

    a. A child writing a letter under her workbook.

    b. A child copying a story and re-drawing the illustrations.* (Figure 10)

    c. A child reading a library book nested inside the basal reader.

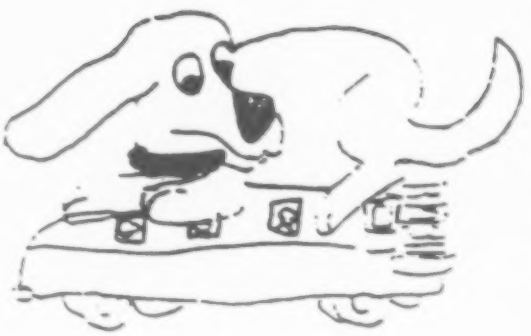
* One boy carefully folded and stapled several sheets of blank paper to form a small book. Then he set about behind his basal reader at his desk carefully copying


Clifford
Takes a TRIP

Hi Im Emily Elizabeth
this is a happy day for me
This is the last day of schol
Summer vacation is here
Now I can play with my dog Clifor

Figure 10

We don't go on long trips it's too hard to get Clifford on a bus or train



3

We only go to places that Clifford can walk to I like picnics in the park

4

Last year was diffrent
Last year we went to
the mountains Mommy an
Daddy said it was too far
for Clifford to walk

Clifford Takes a Trip by Bridwell (1985), which he had checked out from the school library. When he had completely copied the entire text, he began to reproduce freehand each illustration. The following sample is the actual size of the child's book. When asked why he was making the book, he said it was for his mother for Mother's Day. When asked why he didn't write his own story he said he could not write a real story.

The whole language classroom produced different "off-task" or non-compliant behaviors. Instead of covert literacy, the most frequent type of "off-task" behavior was in the form of what we have called pretend engagement. That is, at a distance the children appeared to be engaged in the agreed-upon activity, but upon closer examination, it was apparent that their activity or socializing was not relevant to the business at hand. This works very well when the teacher is interacting with a small group of children and is looking up only occasionally to get a feel for what everyone is doing. According to Melanie, if she received a sufficiently heavy impression that something wasn't quite right, she would usually stop and have the children account for what they were doing.

Whole Language Classroom:

1. Non-compliance or pretend engagement in this classroom was most frequently a social event that looked like literacy. From an examination of the field and video notes we found:

a. Two children talking about a favorite TV program as they appeared to be reading and discussing a story.

b. A small group of children at the science table appearing to be engaged in observation but discussing such areas of interest as boy-girl relationships.

c. Two children quietly arguing at length over the ownership of a pencil during partner writing.

2. Non-compliant or pretend engagement also took the form of an individual literacy-like event. From an examination of the field and video notes we found:

a. A child going to the supply cabinet for paper more times than was remotely necessary.

b. A child pulling books off the shelf and putting them back without looking at them.

c. A child pretending to be one of the researchers and "taking pictures" with a video camera made from a paper towel tube taped to the spine of a book.

Building The Models. Ultimately four models of practice were created representing literacy learning in these two classrooms: two focusing on the teachers as they attempted to create a curricular reality reflective of their beliefs, and two focusing on the children's experience as they interacted with text and with each other within those curricular environments. It is difficult but not impossible to make a case for the connection between each instructional paradigm and the differential shape of children's reading, writing and their views of school literacy.

All four models, Figures 11 through 14, emerged from the corpus of data. Each model is presented in the form of a concept map (Gowin and Novak, 1984) describing the structure of the experiences in these two classrooms. Figures 11 and 12 provide a graphic representation of the operant curriculum each teacher developed. Figures 14 and 15 provide a graphic representation of the transaction categories which governed student focus events in two classrooms. In general, both teachers taught and organized; however, the substance and amount of time spent on their organizing and teaching was different. In general, the children in both types of programs engaged in or avoided the event at hand, but they did so in very different ways and under very different circumstances.

The Traditional Teacher. Figure 11 is the model of teacher focus for the traditional classroom. Each diagram is read from top to bottom in super to subordinate categories. Read from left to right the model depicts most to least emphasis in terms of amount of time and energy spent.

Most to least emphasis was determined by numbers of occurrences and position in lesson. For instance, much of the teacher's emphasis was on word getting. Such events far out numbered comprehension types of activities. In addition, word getting types of activities tended to precede

attention to meaning whether the teacher led either small groups or a large group (See Figure 11).

Mary, the traditional teacher might be best characterized as a conductor. She was always in charge. She moved the children and the lessons gently but firmly by employing both verbal and non-verbal cues. She told the children what to do, and how, when and where to do it. She made them want to comply if they could and to evade if they could not adequately comply. Her classroom had a quiet and regular rhythm.

The question, "What does this teacher do?" led to our finding two categories of her behavior as super ordinant organizing categories for handling the field and video note data. Naturalistic researchers suggest that categories come from the informants as revealed in interviews (Green and Wallat, 1981), or that they be verified by asking the informant(s) in what are called member checks (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). When asked, in informal conversation, Mary agreed that she organizes for instruction and then directly teaches. Although she didn't think of herself as a conductor, she did not appear to find it a negative image.

Traditional Classroom

Teacher Focus

Literacy Events

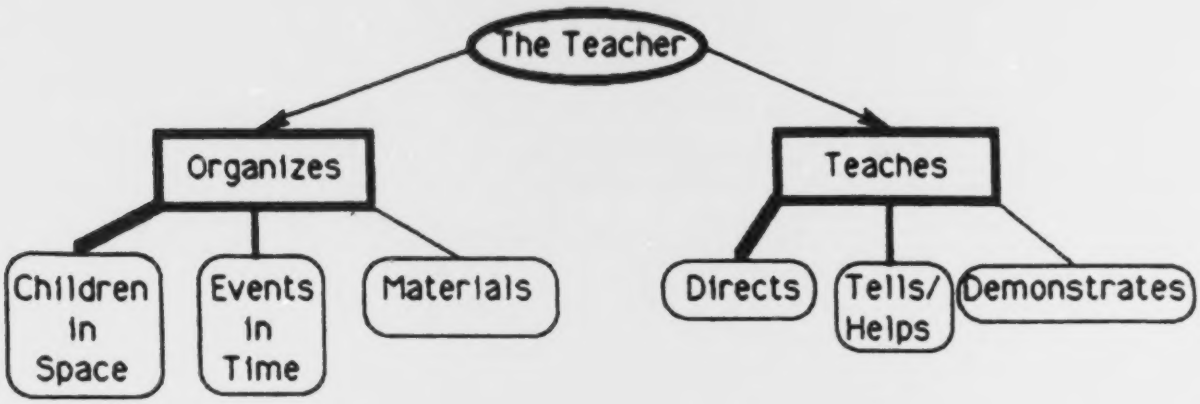


Figure 11

With these two categories as guides, we re-examined the data for specific examples to see if this division held up. To organize for instruction, Mary spent much of her time arranging children in space, organizing events in time, and organizing materials. Arranging children in space usually meant moving them into and out of groups for direct instruction or seat work. For example:

> **Teacher**: Suppose you get busy on that. While I have some people working on that, let me have my reading group at the round table (Fieldnotes, 11/17/87).
>
> **Teacher (to group at round table)**: Suppose you go back to your seats. S_____, pick up that paper on the floor. Okay, those people who have straightened desks may get up to line up (Fieldnotes, 11/17/87).
>
> **Teacher**: All right, let me have my next group. Teacher goes to reading table. She sits and waits for Group Two (Fieldnotes, 11/17/87).
>
> **Teacher**: You are going to do both (an assignment she has just explained) while I work with a group at the (round) table. She calls to table (Fieldnotes, 11/20/87).

In terms of frequency and duration, Mary's second organizing effort was devoted to organizing events in time. Events in time included such things as "Now it's time to take out your spelling books." "Put away your papers." "You have five minutes to finish the worksheet." "We're going to read the story, then we are going to play a game." For example:

> Children return from restroom. Teacher tells Group One to get their papers from the reading table, go back to their desks and begin working on... (Fieldnotes, 11/24/87).

> Teacher (As children line up for P.E.): We will have spelling from 10:20 to 10:45 (Fieldnotes, 11/24/87).

The final piece of classroom organization, arranging materials, included passing out basal readers, passing our worksheets, collecting materials to be checked, having children exchange paper for checking. The worksheets and the basal readers were housed on shelves by the reading table. The children had their workbooks (handwriting, math, skilpaks [reading] at their desks. Clearly these categories are not mutually exclusive. For example:

> Teacher (upon completion of a spelling test): "Suppose you pass your papers up here." She stands at the end of row of desks and takes papers. Teacher: "Suppose you take out your language books. You are supposed to have your book on your desk. Turn to page." Teacher helps all children to get on the right page (Fieldnotes, 11/20/87).

> Teacher is giving a spelling test. She calls out each word and uses it in a sentence. Teacher (at completion of test): "Fold your papers and pass them down. Take everything off your desk. We are going over page 20. It is going to be a post test. Take out a piece of crayon" (Fieldnotes, 11/25/87).

When things were organized, Mary would then teach. The instructional episodes we observed and labeled literacy activities consisted of such things as oral and silent reading of the assigned basal reader story, group completion of worksheets, workbook pages from the skilpak or spelling workbook, activities on the board to be completed by the children on paper, direct teaching of a phonic element or punctuation mark, comprehension questions about the story in the basal reader and identification of

sight words, or "new words" from on a flip chart. In terms of amount of time spent and frequency of occurrence, the teacher's main emphasis was nearly always word-getting. Comprehending was actually third in emphasis after both word identification and mechanics of print. Mechanics included punctuation, grammar and correct spelling. For example:

> Teacher: Call group two. They read the new words on the flip chart. Teacher reads first as she points with pointer. Then the children repeat after her (Fieldnotes, 9/23/87).

> Teacher: "I could really hear your voices on the exclamation points when you read. Your voices went up. That is good! Now you are going back to your seats and work on your sentences" (Fieldnotes, 10/19/87).

> Teacher: "Close your books." Teacher asks what lesson did you learn. Calls on several children to respond. Listens, smiles and nods, says okay. Calls on next child. Comments," okay. It is really nice to tell the truth when you need someone to believe you. Teacher elicits agreement from children (Fieldnotes, 10/8/87).

The right hand branch of the model shows that from most to least her teaching emphasis was on: a) directing children through their work, b) informing children as they worked, c) facilitating compliance and d) demonstrating for the children.

Directing children formed the bulk of what Mary did. Telling children exactly what to do, as well as when and how to do it, emerged as the operationalized definition of teaching in this classroom. For example:

> Teacher: "What page is the story on? I like the way Latasha has looked in the Table of Contents. She says it's on page 103. Okay." Teacher: "Who wants to read?" The first child who volunteers begins to read.

He has a hard time with a word. Attempts to sound it out. Teacher tells him, "street." **Teacher**: "You're having a hard time." The child reads on for a sentence or two. **Teacher**: "Okay, now let's let E_____ read." She pulls the child to her. Teacher looks at a group at their seats to check on them. Teacher looks back at the child and nods. The child reads the last part of the story. The teacher snaps her fingers at noisy seat workers. "Excuse me," she says to the reader. **Teacher**: "Okay, close your books. What happened early one morning?" child answers. Teacher repeats part of the child's answer and develops the next question. The child answers. Teacher continues direct questioning in this manner for seven minutes. The discussion ends and the children return to complete skilpak pages at their seats (Fieldnotes, 9/28/87).

Teacher: "All right, let me have my next group." Teacher goes to reading table. She sits and waits for Group Two. She tells groups at their desks to get to work on punctuation. After reading group assembles, Teacher goes to the vocabulary chart. She points to each word as children read. She flips the chart to more vocabulary. She calls attention to the capital letter in **Dan** and **Saturday**. She calls attention to the OI digraph in **noise**. **Teacher**: "You remember when the other group did their story, they made pictures about sights of the city." Teacher begins the oral reading cycle with M_____. Teacher calls on individual students to read. She corrects student who mispronounces words. After quieting a student working at her desk, Teacher resumes the reading cycle. Pronounces word for M_____. Teacher emphasizes the story's last sentence. She explains that the sentence has an exclamation point (Fieldnotes, 11/10/87).

Informing children or giving them information, almost anticipating questions that were never asked, seemed to fill up a second area of emphasis. For instance:

Teacher: "We have been talking about telling sentences. I want you to give me a statement." M_____ gives a sentence. Teacher repeats it (exactly as it has been said).

Teacher: "Thank you." Teacher repeats each child's sentence and then praises him or her, remarking to herself on those children in need of additional work with her. Teacher now begins to explain to group how the rules of playing football with punctuation differ

from playing football with vowel digraphs (Fieldnotes, 11/10/87).

Teacher. D_____ you will read the last one. Teacher. Write one statement that ends with a period. Write one question and one exclamation sentence on the back of your picture.

Teacher. While people are working on that let me have my _____ groups at the round table. Moves children around the table until they are situated the way she wants them.

Teacher. Gets up and goes to flip chart. Teacher. Lets see if we can read these words. Children read in unison as teacher points. Teacher. Let see if we can read this story with expression.

Teacher. Suppose you start C_____. Teacher. Nods to C_____. C_____ reads aloud. S_____ helps/corrects C___ with a word. Teacher. Alright.

Teacher. Looks at J_____ and nods. He begins to read aloud...(Field notes, 10/19/87).

Facilitating children, as we came to label it, really had two components. They were creating "teachable moments" and answering children's questions. In addition to using the regular class time to directly teach "skills," Mary also used the times children lined up to go to P.E., to the restroom, to lunch, or as they participated in round-robin reading. Two excerpts from the field notes of these created "teachable moments" are:

Teacher: "You may line up. All right, we are ready to go down the hall. S_____, can you bring me my keys?" He does. Teacher asks child what kind she used. He isn't sure what she is asking. She asks again, reminding him they are learning about punctuation mark. He catches on and answers correctly. Teacher takes children to restroom (Fieldnotes, 9.29.87).

> Teacher (to group who read aloud a basal story): "I could really hear your voices on the exclamation points when you read. Your voices went up. That is good!" (Fieldnotes, 11/20/87).

When a child asked a question, Mary rarely told the child she should have paid closer attention. Rather, she usually answered the child directly and completely and then went on. Nevertheless, the children asked relatively few questions even though it was safe to do so. Partly, this was due to the fact that Mary gave explicit step by step directions and partly because she anticipated so well. For instance:

> Teacher: I see some good work with capital letters.

> Teacher: On the bottom it gives directions for coloring. You should be able to do it on your own. D_____ asks question about directions. Teacher: Reads them. Teacher: Are you listening? Then repeats them paraphrased.

> Teacher: I'm going to give you five strips. Yesterday you wrote a story. It had five sentences in it. Write your sentences from your story - the one; you did yesterday on these strips. (Uses one child's paper as example). Teacher: You are going to do it while I work with groups ____ at the table (Fieldnotes, 11/20/87).

Occasionally, Mary modeled or demonstrated for the class. This usually took the form of demonstrating the mechanics of language or the directions for completing a worksheet activity. For example, when she wanted to show her students how to edit a paragraph, Mary wrote a paragraph on the board and called the students' attention to each mechanical error. Then, either she or the student would correct the specific error. According to Mary, this

type of activity appeared on both the achievement and the basic skills tests.

Mary also demonstrated in reading groups for individual students. For example:

> **Teacher**: "All right, we are going to play football. You are going to use sentences or questions in place of the ones with exclamation points." Teacher calls on Sh_____. As child says the correct sentence, teacher shows the punctuation to group. **Teacher (to a student who has not understood the game's rules and is stalling)**: "Tell me anything, E____." Teacher then gives examples of statements for E_____'s benefit (Fieldnotes, 10/7/87).

It is readily apparent that this teacher is closely aligned with those who believe that reading can and should be divided into numerous teachable and measurable "skills." In this classroom, children were offered few choices but a wealth of workbook, basal reader and teacher created activities. As suggested by Figure 12 and the examples from fieldnotes, this teacher attends mostly to words and is guided by the belief that skills directly taught in isolation will result in reading and writing growth. During one informal member check, Mary told us that she wanted to encourage her students to read and write more, but there was no time in the classroom curriculum to do so when so many skills had to be covered.

Whole Language Classroom

Teacher Focus

Literacy Events

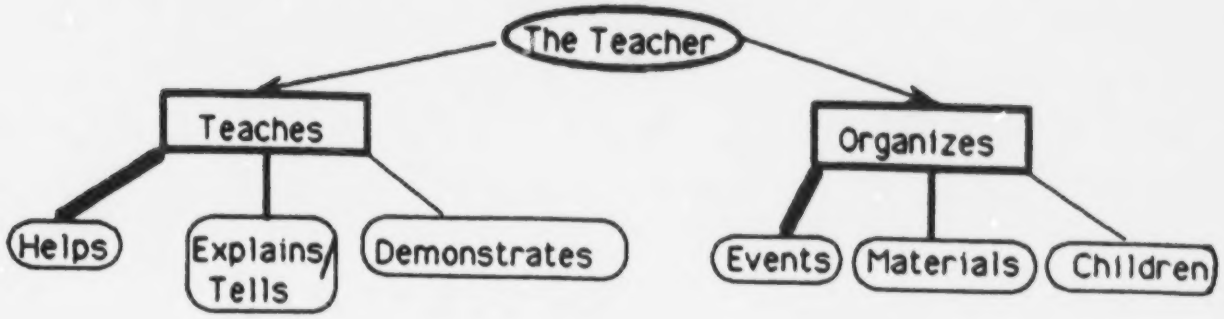


Figure 12

The Whole Language Teacher: By comparison, the whole language teacher's classroom appeared to be more integrated (See Figure 13). While her teaching was not completely seamless, i.e., transitions so smooth as to not call one's attention to a shift in activity, Melanie organized and taught in a very different way from Mary. The method of analysis used to build the comparisons between the two teachers and their classrooms might be viewed as violating the "texture" of any classroom by breaking instructional transactions into categories and stripping them from the contexts in which they occurred. These events did not occur in isolation, but categorizing was a necessary form of data manipulation. The models do, in fact, reflect the texture of these classrooms, as they re-integrate the data. Model building, by its nature, does not reflect the continuity of events that narrative can, but such an exercise has the power to transcend particular situations. Therefore, throughout this section, the reader should find in each citation evidence of the fabric of this teacher's classroom.

In reading the left arm of the model, one can see that Melanie put most of her effort into teaching. Her classroom was always noisier and messier than Mary's. We labeled what Melanie did as facilitating and informing since these were obvious categories. However, these activities were very different from what Mary did to inform and facilitate. The operational definition of teaching that emerged from

detailing Melanie's classroom showed that she spent most of her time and effort a) **helping children do things** in a co-worker sort of way, b) **giving children information** as they seemed to need it, (much of the information she gave was background or filler kinds of information), and c) **demonstration for the children** how to do something.

Facilitating or helping the children as a co-worker was a daily part of nearly every one of Melanie's transactions with the students. For example:

> Reading time. Teacher gives instructions about (children's) reading alone or with partners. She discusses how children are partners with books, swapping ideas, discussing with themselves, and enjoying the pictures. They begin to read and she goes around the room attending to children as they read. She listens, talks to them about what they are reading, answers their questions. Moves on (Fieldnotes, 08/26/87).

> Teacher calls group to rug. Children vote on the book to read. They vote for **The Very Hungry Caterpillar** over **The Dead Bird**. Children recall parts of the book they remember. Teacher discusses the dedication page. Many children join in as Teacher reads the book. **Children**: "Can we act it out?" Teacher helps children dramatize the story. Children come back to the rug after dramatizing **The Very Hungry Caterpillar**. They sing a song. Teacher shares **The Dead Bird**. Children revise their "dead worm" story. Teacher reads through the story. She reads to a sentence needing revision. A_____ suggests using the word "shovel" instead of "scissors for a shovel." Another student suggests "and."

> **Teacher**: "Yes, I think the sentence needs 'and'." Teacher moves on to last sentence. **Teacher**: "Sang or sung?" Students thought "sung" was better, but Teacher informs them that "sang" is right. Students debates the length of the last sentence of the story. They vote to retain its length. Teacher asks if there are other problems. Children don't see any. **Teacher**: Look at this stop sign (period). A period is like a

> stop sign. Does it need to be here?" Children decide no. It is removed. Teacher divides up duties. Title group, sentence group, etc. (Fieldnotes, 08/27/87).

Informing, which is for Melanie, telling giving background information, building context or fleshing out a concept with detail. For example:

> Children come to the rug. Teacher and six children are book making and conferencing. Teacher discusses publishing their stories. She goes through the steps for making a book. She announces that several children are ready for writing conferences. **Teacher**: "Children, listen to A_____'s story." The children agree A_____'s story needs no revisions. **Teacher (to E_____)**: "When I have writing conference, I read your story and you listen and think about it--if it is the way you want it. (To the rest of the students in the conference): "You can ask questions." (To E_____): "Are you thinking about it?" E_____: "No." **Teacher**: "Well, I want you to." E_____ reads his story silently and; gives it back to her. She reads it aloud. She tells him that he has to pretend he does not know the story. She reads the story again. (She wants him to remove personal pronouns and replace them with proper nouns). However, E_____ says "he" is his uncle, then he names him "Jason." They discuss the Jason stories. Teacher tell E_____ about scary movies she used to watch. He entitles his story "Jason's nightmare," but in writing it is on the paper, he transposes and writes "Nightmare Jason." Teacher asks if "Nightmare Jason" is what he wants. E_____ says no (Fieldnotes, 09/02/87).

Finally, part of Melanie's teaching consisted of, demonstrating, "showing students how to behave in a particular context (Edelsky, Draper and Smith, 1983)." Most often, she demonstrated during SSR and journal writing. For instance:

> Children settle down to write. JM shares more of his book with R_____. T_____ goes over to book corner. K_____ goes back to animal corner to write. Teacher is also writing in a journal. Later she places it on the chalk tray. She offers that children may read the ideas she has for the room (Fieldnotes, 09/03/87).

> Children get ready for reading. C_____ reads to R_____. Teacher gives children instructions for silent reading. She places books on table for students' selection. She tells students that she too has something to read. Everyone settles down to read (Fieldnotes, 09/03/87).

> Children are called to silent reading. Teacher reads alone for about ten minutes, then she calls children to read in pairs. Teacher: "Find a friend." Teacher asks someone to come read with her. Two children come forward. T_____ reads with her first, then E_____. Teacher asks E_____ questions about the content of his reading selection (Fieldnotes, 11/16/87).

Reading from the right half of the model, the difference between how each teacher spent her organizing time and effort can be seen. Melanie focused on organizing events in time, organizing material and equipment and finally organizing children in space. Her organizing efforts appeared to us to focus on developing the structure that guided the day's activities.

Rugtime, a total class event occurring first thing each morning and lasting an average of 20 minutes, served as the major vehicle by which Melanie organized. Often during this time, she presented the day's schedule and allowed students to add their own ideas and to form their own groups through negotiation.

> Children come in from P.E. They discuss the day's schedule. Children share ideas about names for partner writing. They decide on the final schedule for today: Teacher: Writes it on the board.
>
> 9:15 Silent Writing
> 9:30 Partner Writing
> 10:30 Silent Reading
> Partner Reading
> 11:15 Book Share/Author's Chair
>
> Children settle down to write (Fieldnotes, 9/3/87).

> Teacher goes back to B_____ and his story/editing/revisions. She gets B_____ to check writing cycle. Looks out over class. Teacher: "Boys and girls, we are going to have to stop in about five minutes and go plant our (tulip) bulbs (Fieldnotes, 11/16/87).
>
> Children and teacher look at calendar for planning between now and Halloween. They discuss what projects they are working on and when the projects have to be completed. They also discuss where they are going on fieldtrips. Teacher and children begin negotiating what they are going to do to finish up their unit on animals. Teacher gives ideas and invites children to give ideas. They discuss and then vote (Fieldnotes, 10/05/87).

Throughout the day, "rugtime" functioned as a time to highlight one particular event such as author's chair, shared book/read aloud, or to establish or realign the day's events.

> Rugtime: 10:45 to 11:00 a.m. Following demonstration concert by Nashville Symphony, children are in group at rug. They are talking about what they heard. They are saying what they liked best about the symphony concert they just heard and they are asking questions. J_____: "I like the big thing with strings. (Teacher says, "harp"). Someone else said something they liked and teacher agreed. She liked that too. J_____ raises his hand but does not keep it up. When teacher calls on someone else, he lowers his hand. The discussion goes on for some time (twenty minutes). J_____ says he wants to play the piccolo. E_____ tells about his cousin's drums and horns. J.L. shares about a musician about her family--someone who plays the guitar.
>
> Teacher: "Which instrument has low sounds and which has high sounds?" The children finally decide low sounds come from the big instruments and high sounds come from the little ones. S_____ asks, "Why?" Teacher says we can do some things to find out why and goes on to explain about big, wide sound waves and little, short sound waves. J_____ adds something about sound bouncing off buildings and making echoes. Everyone agrees and they talk about sound waves for a few minutes. They plan to try a sound wave experiment when they get back from the library (Fieldnotes, 9/30/87).

In terms of frequency and duration, Melanie's second organizing effort was devoted to organizing materials.

> Teacher: "Boys and girls, be sure to keep your writing materials together. How many have put your cards together?" Teacher reminds students to put last names on papers to principal. She talks to C_____ in back of room. She takes up children's work and prepares them for planting (tulip) bulbs (Fieldnotes, 11/16/87).
>
> Children are doing SSR and paired reading. Teacher collects materials from her desk/tables and puts them in back (Fieldnotes, 11/17/87).
>
> Teacher: "It is nearly time to stop writing. Finish up and put things away. Clean up." Children finish. Teacher continues writing conferences with a student and directs children where to put their rough drafts (Fieldnotes, 11/17/87).

A third area of classroom organization for Melanie related to arranging children in space. Children usually had as much or more responsibility organizing themselves as the teacher did.

> Rugtime. Teacher calls children to the rug. She begins by checking what each child needs to work on as she takes roll. She continues to take roll trying to sort out who was working with whom. She checks to see who was absent the previous Friday when she too was absent (Fieldnotes, 10/14/87).
>
> E_____ is writing in large tablet. He brings his work to Melanie to read it to her. She is seated at the conference table or walking around the room helping children work on their stories (E is writing about his trip to Detroit). He reads to teacher. They talk together about what he's written. (They are interrupted by a large butterfly flying in the window and the children try to catch it).
>
> E_____ watches, then goes back to his seat to continue writing. He writes for nearly three more minutes, then goes back to teacher. He reads the next section to her. They discuss the new part. (Another child interrupts. Teacher tells her to keep writing until she and E_____ are finished. Child returns to

> rug where she has been working). Teacher asks E_____ does that part make sense. He reads it. He says no. Then he explains what he meant. They continue reading and discussing for another minute or two. They work out the spelling of "pray." Then E_____ returns to his seat. The child who interrupted earlier is waiting to read her story to the teacher (Fieldnotes, 9/28/87).

The practices of the whole language teacher reflect the beliefs of those who say that language is the driving force of the curriculum, that children learn to do by doing, and that children should have a part in deciding what they work on and how well they are doing. Melanie engaged children in decision-making in terms of what to write and with whom to work. She did much, with the aid of her students, to build a collaborative, literate classroom environment.

The practices of the traditional teacher reflected the beliefs of those who think that children must be directly taught, led through tasks that cause them to practice or to demonstrate mastery of the "skills" of language. Mary decided what exercises her students would be involved in. She gave them information about what to do and feedback as to how well they performed. She usually required that each child work alone. She built a competitive, competency based classroom in which the children knew where they ranked.

The Children (Traditional Setting)

Figures 13 and 14 represent literacy learning events of the students in these respective classrooms. As with the teachers, the model for the traditional classroom formed itself easily into isolated literacy activities. Not so for

the whole language classroom. The whole language classroom was a more highly social and tightly interrelated entity, and therefore more complex and resistant to analysis.

In analyzing these data, we determined that literacy events in the traditional classroom (See Figure 14) broke down under two major headings we labeled compliance activities and non-compliance activities. Compliance activities were task assignments--teacher initiated worksheets, basal reader stories, creative writing, etc., activities. They were completed in groups as with round-robin oral reading or individually as with the worksheets at each child's desk. There was virtually no cooperative work with pairs or small groups taking place in this classroom. This teacher always stressed that "good workers worked quietly and alone."

Traditional Classroom

Child Focus

Literacy Events

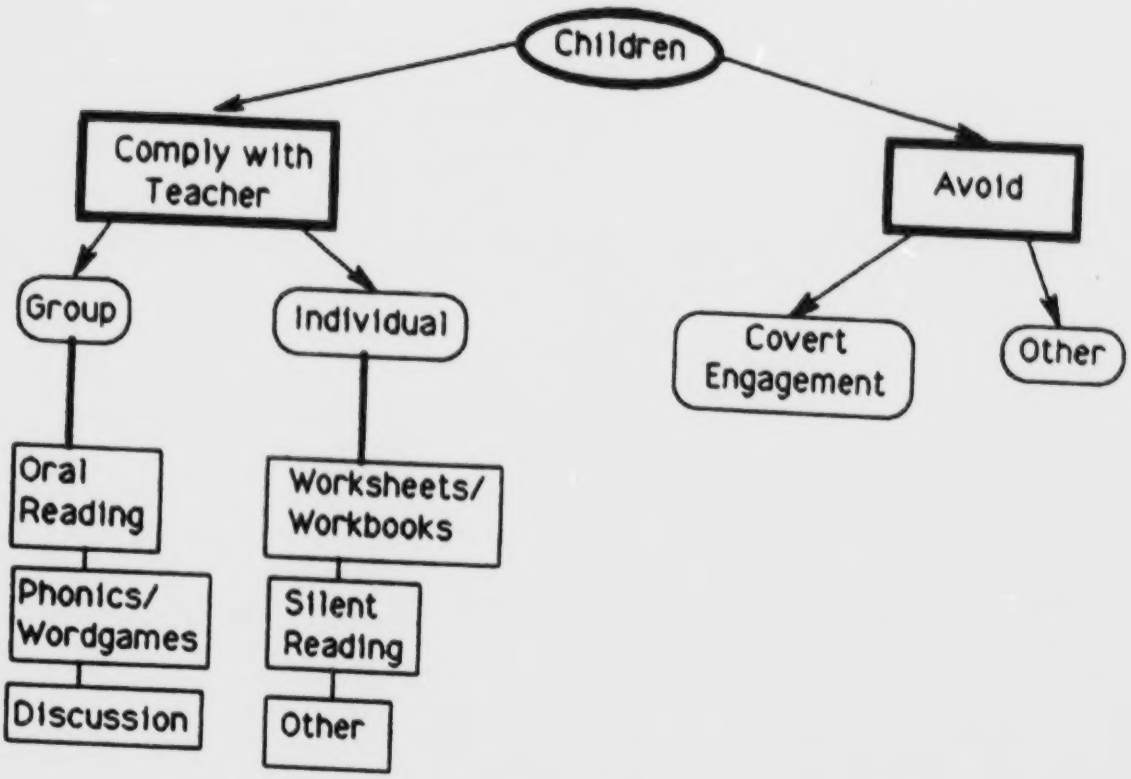


Figure 13

What we saw when we first looked at this classroom was routine and compliance - that is, children doing what they were told to do and doing the same sort of things in the same way on a regular basis. For example:

> E_____ puts paper away to join his group at the reading table. The group fidgets about as the books are being passed out and the story found. E_____ turns to page and checks by looking at the book next to him. The boy next to him does the same and corrects his selection. Teacher introduces the story by talking about noises of the city. She mostly reminds children what they have said, read, and what they know. J_____ begins reading. E_____ appears to follow along with his pencil. His turn comes. He reads aloud. They complete round-robin reading. **Teacher**: "Close your books. Think about the story. We are going to write sentences, then draw. You can go anywhere in the room to work." Teacher gives children large pieces of paper. Children go to find a place to work alone (Fieldnotes, 9/30/87).

> C_____ takes her chair and moves it near the camera. She plays with her purse for 2 to 3 minutes "fixing it." She is supposed to be reading part two silently. After about five minutes, C_____ finally begins to read. She points to each word with her pencil, subvocalizes as she leans over book with her elbows resting on her knees (Fieldnotes, 9/30.87).

> Children are discussing dinosaurs. The size of the brain and where the name **dinosaurs** comes from. They are going to the Cumberland Science Museum soon. **Teacher**: "Everything that has a name was remembered by someone. People studied about dinosaurs and named them." That discussion ends and they pass in their books. Teacher passes out the skilpaks. Then the children open to appropriate page. **Teacher**: "This ditto is on the apostrophe." Children repeat the word **apostrophe**. Teacher reads the directions. They do the first set altogether. **Teacher**: "I will--what is the contraction for I will?" Children say "I'll." **Teacher**: "All right, draw a line from I to I will." Teacher uses contraction form in a sentence. They do three examples together before the children go back to their seats to complete the assignment.

As data collection progressed, we observed that the students would often complete their seat work assignments or stop part way through and move on to their own agendas, i.e., those not assigned by the teacher. Furtive glances, propped up basal readers or notebooks, and stealthily passed pieces of paper and books signaled what at first we labeled "off-task" for lack of better term. Eventually, most of this type of non-compliance we labeled covert literacy. When examined more closely, these events appeared to reflect the children's attempts to take control of their own literacy development and do what children in whole language classrooms engage in overtly. Drawing, sketching pictures, reading comics and copying texts from trade books comprised the majority of the covert literacy activities; however, there were attempts at book making, the surreptitious reading and sharing of favorite library or personal books, and the passing of notes and messages. All of these activities were successfully completed under the guise of assigned seat work and without the teacher's knowing or approving. An example of a covert literacy event is contained in the following excerpt:

> When the children return from P.E., De_____ goes to his seat to do math. He works quietly counting on his fingers. He continues to work, then he gets up and takes his math book to a designated spot to indicate his completion of the morning's assignment. He returns to his desk. He looks about, looks over at the teacher, then gets up. He makes a surreptitious glance in E_____'s direction. Goes back to his desk to get a large sheet of paper. He gets out his drawing pad,

> stops, puts paper down, comes back to his desk to get his chair. Walks slowly over to E_____'s space. De_____ and E_____ begin to collaborate on a drawing. **Teacher**: "E_____, are you listening to De_____ read?" E_____: "Yes." To cover, De_____ goes to get a book. They open up to the same page rather than flip through the pages. E_____ tries to match pages with De_____ by looking at pictures instead of the page number. They get to the same page and De_____ begins drawing as E_____ looks on. Now E_____ begins to write or draw on his paper. He occasionally checks De_____'s paper. They look over at the teacher. They share and look at each other's papers. They check the book from time to time, pointing to something on the page. They begin to tear the paper in half as if to make a small book. They get scissors and begin to cut instead of tear. They also have glue (Fieldnotes, 10/6/87).

These non-compliance, covert literacy events took place every day, during every instance of seat work we have on video tape. The focused data intakes at the end of year lead to even better examples of covert literacy among children in the traditional classroom.

The Children (Whole Language Setting)

The child focus data from the whole language classroom (Figure 14) presented a different challenge--that of determining what activities constituted "legitimate" literacy events. At first glance, the children in the whole language classroom appeared not ever to be "off task," because there were so few ungeneralized tasks assigned by the teacher. However, a closer look revealed that some of the children were frequently avoiding what they had agreed to be doing. These children's activities fell (coincidentally) into two major categories that we termed "engaging" and "avoiding."

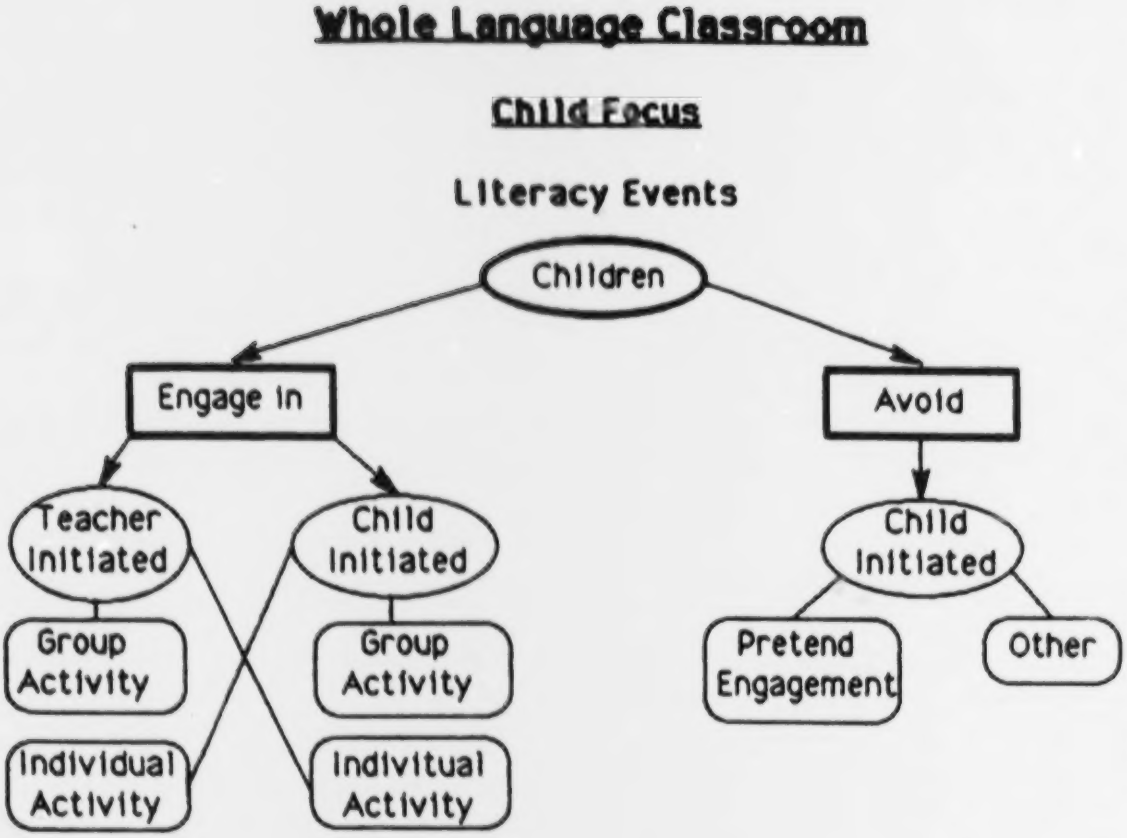

Whole Language Classroom
Child Focus
Literacy Events
Children
Engage In
Avoid
Teacher Initiated
Child Initiated
Child Initiated
Group Activity
Group Activity
Pretend Engagement
Other
Individual Activity
Indivitual Activity

Figure 14

As previously described, a critical participation event was rugtime. It appeared to be the seminal point for teacher--initiated events. Rugtime provided the children extensive discussion and decision-making opportunities. During this time, children would help develop the agenda for the day's activities, including with whom they would work for reading and writing, how and which text would be engaged in, whether or not to begin a new piece, revise an old piece of writing, or what to write in their journals, etc. For example:

> Teacher calls children to rug. Teacher shares something with the children--a gift she received and some books she bought on her trip. Great discussions ensue when Teacher shares postcard pictures of the town she visited on her trip. She and children read the backs of the postcards. They talk about the pictures on the cards. Children begin to talk about what books they want Teacher to read to them. "Bony Bony" is a poem someone shares with the group. The rest of the children join in sing-song fashion. Teacher reads a short rhyme on trick or treat. Then the children make up their own versions. Teacher brings out another book entitled <u>The Terrible Halloween Night</u>. They read title together. Then teacher begins reading. She stops at the end of the second page and asks what will happen next. Children predict. She continues reading. Sometimes children join in to offer language that might be in the text (Fieldnotes, 10/14/87).

> Some of the children appeared to move in and out of paying attention. It looked as if minds wandered occasionally or someone or something else took precedence. However, it also appeared that all the children willingly engaged in the agreed upon event(s) when the time came.

Avoidance in this classroom was more difficult to tag. Since both the traditional and the whole language classroom had few discipline problems, the off-task behavior was

seldom disruptive; rather, avoidance took the form of the child not being engaged in what he or she had agreed to work on.

As we watched the video tapes it become clear that some of the children were developing ways of appearing to be engaged in the agreed upon event (so the teacher would ignore them) while they actually engaged in fantasy play and socializing.

Avoidance then was subdivided into activities that resembled engagement but which allowed children to do other things. School-like avoidance activities included writing- and reading-like behavior in some form. Such activities as sitting in the book corner appearing to read during partner writing or journal writing time, or appearing to be reading or writing during Author's Chair or rugtime. Primarily it constituted pretending to read or to be working with another child.

> Students are writing. S_____ gets up and goes to rug to write alone. She looks around at Sh_____ and at others. Gets up, goes to look for her journal. Flips through a pile of writing folders (or journals), then goes to her desk. Takes her journal back to its pile. Gets a book and goes to the rocker. Reads and then gets up to go sit with another student (Fieldnotes, 10/15/87).

School-like avoidance also included the typical dropping of pencils or paper, extensive pencil sharpening, errant wandering or the constant arranging and rearranging of the contents of one's desk. The richness of the classroom also invited such avoidance activities as taking

the gerbils out of their cages and petting them, counting the fish in the fish tank, or hiding with a friend under the coat rack and talking.

> Teacher sends groups to tables. C_____ gets out his pencils and crayons. Teacher asks them to listen to each other and to write down what they need to complete a group activity. C_____ begins to show a button with "I Love You" on it. He plays with the button and an eraser (Fieldnotes, 10/5/87).

Conclusions

Teacher Focus

1. In both classrooms the teacher organized. Relative to the amount of time spent:

   a. The traditional, skill-based teacher spent most of her time organizing the children, their learning activities and their materials respectively, then she taught.

   b. The whole language teacher spent most of her time teaching; she also organized learning events, materials, and children respectively.

2. In both classrooms the teacher teaches.

   a. The traditional teacher spent most of her instructional time and effort directing children through a lesson, a workbook assignment, ditto sheet exercise, etc. She spent the next greatest amount of time and effort informing children--giving them definitions of words, telling them about something relative to the lessons. She spent some time helping children complete the exercise or lesson previously explained, and occasionally she modeled how to accomplish a task.

b. The whole language teacher, by contrast, spent most of her teaching time facilitating the children as they worked on a project or written text. She also provided information, usually background or contextual information relative to the nature of the child's project, and she modeled--she usually modeled how written language works and how to make sense of print. She spent virtually no time leading children through the directions for an exercise or activity.

Child Focus

3. In both classrooms the children engaged in compliance and non-compliance with the teacher and the curriculum.

   a. In the traditional classroom, the children were usually engaged in teacher-initiated, group activities. Secondarily, they were engaged in teacher-initiated individual activities, that is, everyone doing the same thing but doing it alone. Rarely, so as to be almost non-existent, did children engage in child-initiated learning events sanctioned by the teacher.

   b. In the whole language classroom, the children also participated in teacher-initiated group events. However, the nature of these events was very different. They also participated in teacher-initiated individual learning events. These usually consisted of silent or partner reading, writing, or projects such as art projects. These children also engaged in their own initiated group and individual learning activities at the invitation of the teacher.

   c. In addition, children in both classrooms were at times "off" (whatever was the agreed upon) "task." However, the nature of the off-task behavior was very different. In the traditional classroom off task more than likely meant some

> prohibited literacy event with a book and a neighbor. In the whole language classroom it meant play acting like "we're really reading or really writing so we can" avoid taking a risk, avoid doing something hard or just disengage for a while.

Most educators now agree that children learn at many levels. They learn what they are taught, and they learn what they experience from the total environment. This includes such seemingly disparate elements as the focus of instructional emphasis and the teacher's attitude, all the way to quality of maintenance of the school building (DeFord, 1984). In addition, most educators agree that school literacy development involves more than just knowing how to read and write. It involves knowing the rules of the game--what to do and when to do it (Hymes, 1974). Schools have "rules of the game" that tend to be difficult and obscure for some minority children (Collins and Michaels, 1978). And while invisible rules are present in every classroom, they are more culturally bound to white, middle class values, expectations, procedures and definitions in traditional classrooms (Hall, 1989). Many educators now believe engaging children in the processes of learning collaboratively in classrooms with flexible rules, i.e., rules partially negotiated and established by the children, frees the children to concentrate on becoming literate (Smith, 1982; Tierney, et. al., 1984). Learners are therefore empowered with information, and choices. In informal,

process-oriented classrooms, the children's culture naturally determines many of the rules of knowing and doing. Therefore, more students can readily become competent members of the classroom community (Mehan, 1979).

We have provided models of the operating structures of these two classrooms. The similarities and differences between what each of these teachers has created, and what each group of children experienced have yielded a very different picture of what each group of children experience as school, as literacy and as their own place in those processes.

The major purpose of this study has been to provide an expanded understanding of the differences and similarities between what happens in an informal, process-oriented whole language classroom and a traditional, skills-based teacher directed classroom. The resulting description begins to account for the similarities and differences in the products of the learners in these two programs.

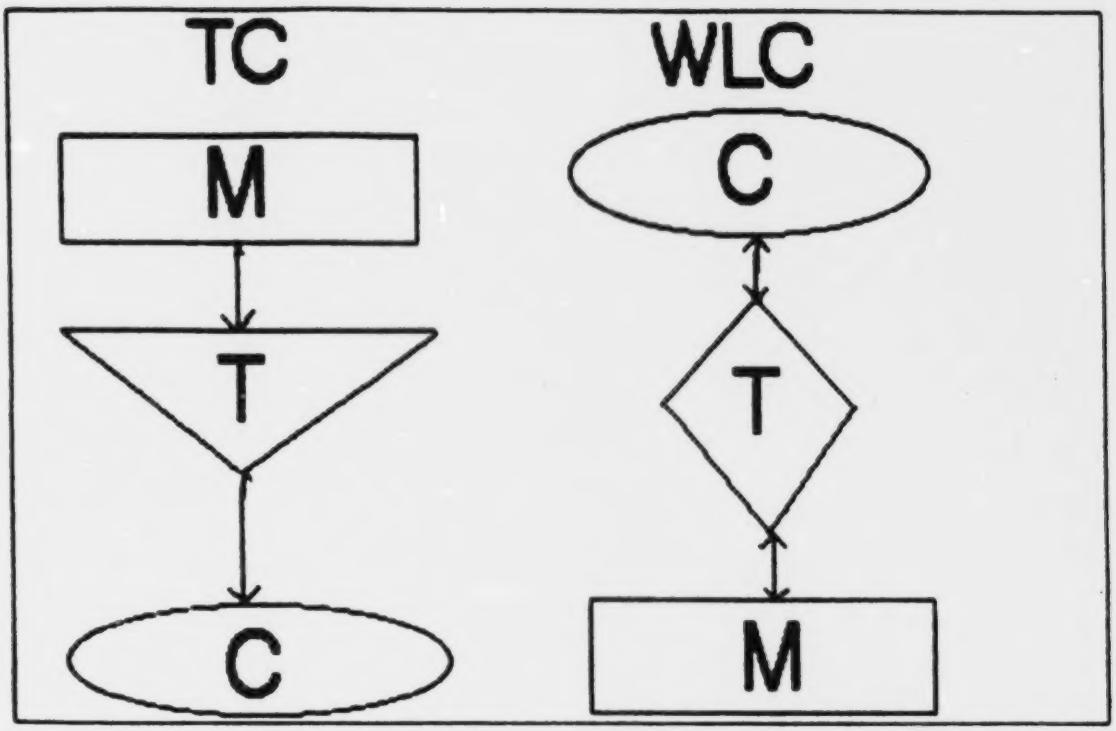
From a broader point of view, we would like these findings to contribute to the growing theory of meaning-based versus code-based instruction. Tierney et. al, (1984), maintains that reading and writing are acts of both cognition and socialization and literacy as empowerment is developed through demonstration, engagement, choice and cultural relevancy (Au, 1981; Brooks, 1981; Neisser, 1986). Evidence from this study shows that whole language

philosophy creates a classroom where children are encouraged to think, make choices, problem solve and collaborate on learning in ways that are very different from a traditional classroom.

A summative model (Figure 16), suggests the broadest level differences in application of these two philosophies. In the traditional classroom (TC) the materials were paramount. They were transmitted by the teacher to the children, and the materials determined the curriculum. In the whole language classroom (WLC), the children were the focus. The children negotiated with the teacher and together, the teacher and the children mediated the materials to meet the children's needs and interests (See Figure 16).

Summary of Meaning Base. Our research supports the proposition that children learn what they are taught and they learn from the environment as well. However, regardless of what they are taught and regardless of the environment, we found that children will engage in making meaning and using language as a tool for learning and for self-expression whether or not the curriculum supports these activities.

Our previous research (Stice and Bertrand, 1990) strongly suggests, that traditional primary grade classrooms produce children who read words well but are more dependent on the teacher than on themselves. Whole language classrooms



TC = Traditional Classroom
M = Materials
T = Teacher
C = Child

WLC = Whole Language Classroom
C = Child
T = Teacher
M = Materials

Figure 15

produce children who comprehend well, generate meaningful texts and think of themselves as real readers and writers. The present study shows that the differences between these two types of philosophies are even more pronounced.

It seems clear that children want learning to be meaningful, and of their own choosing - or for their own purposes. They want school to be interesting, and if it isn't, they will create interesting activities on their own to supplement a meaning-limited environment. They also want learning to be social, and they will socialize learning covertly when they can. Therefore, "off-task" behavior is not necessarily bad, and in our view may be preferable in some ways to many of the typical assignments made by traditional teachers. Conversely, while children do need a content- and object-rich environment, they may also need to disengage from even the most interesting of classrooms from time to time, perhaps to give the subconscious mind a chance to process and organize.

With regard to the teachers, the most important finding is that the whole language teacher spent more time actually teaching during the reading/language arts block than did the traditional teacher. In fact, the whole language teacher appeared to be "teaching" nearly all the time.

With regard to the children, the most significant single finding is that children's "off-task" behavior usually had a literate basis in the traditional classroom.

If at-risk children who tend to be low achievers, covertly strive to create meaning-centered classrooms in spite of the prevailing curriculum, perhaps we ought to help them.

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Appendix A

Samples of types of written texts from the whole language classrooms

1 No fighting

2 No eating candy.

3 No Coton.
4 No Kissing.
5 No Pinching
6 No talKing laud.
7 obey rules.
8 talk one at a time
9 No Playing Why we are working.
10 No fusing at each other
11 tro trasha away
a. Clean.

[redacted] have [redacted]

[redacted] November 5, [redacted]
to [redacted] day [redacted] May 9 back 19[redacted]
the Chocolate cake November 5, 19[redacted]
Horace November 5, 19[redacted]
madeline and the bad hat November 5, 19[redacted]
the Killer November 13, 19[redacted]
Miss Nelson is Back November 13, 19[redacted]
Riddles Ridaes November 23, 19[redacted]
Bear needs help January 14 1988
Goldilocks and the three Bears January 14 1988
the story Ble this that happened January 14 1988

0

child generated list

required list

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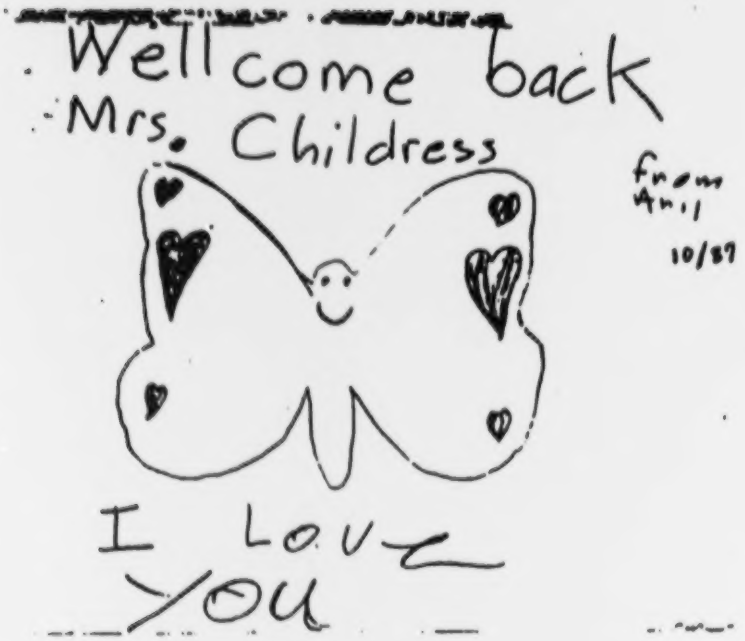
.... And then the next day, the Rabbit went wandering through the woods until he got to Sneaky Snake's house and he asked him for a crust of bread. And Sneaky-Sneaky Snake said, "Hey Dude, I got more than that. I can give you about 3 crumbs a week if you only do not sneak any more of Mrs. Brown's wheat." ...

5 Annalise Vos

dictated story



note

come in
We are working

PIESES

DO not
come in

if you come in
will you nook
M. C and
M. L
do not hiv to
nook

sign

9/87

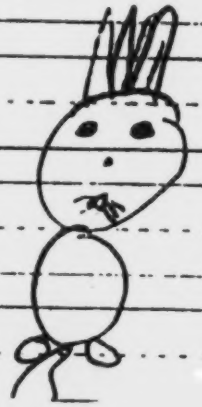
The Dead Cat

by Sharina ann Smith

Sept. 21, 1987

My cat is big.

My cat is good



Personal story

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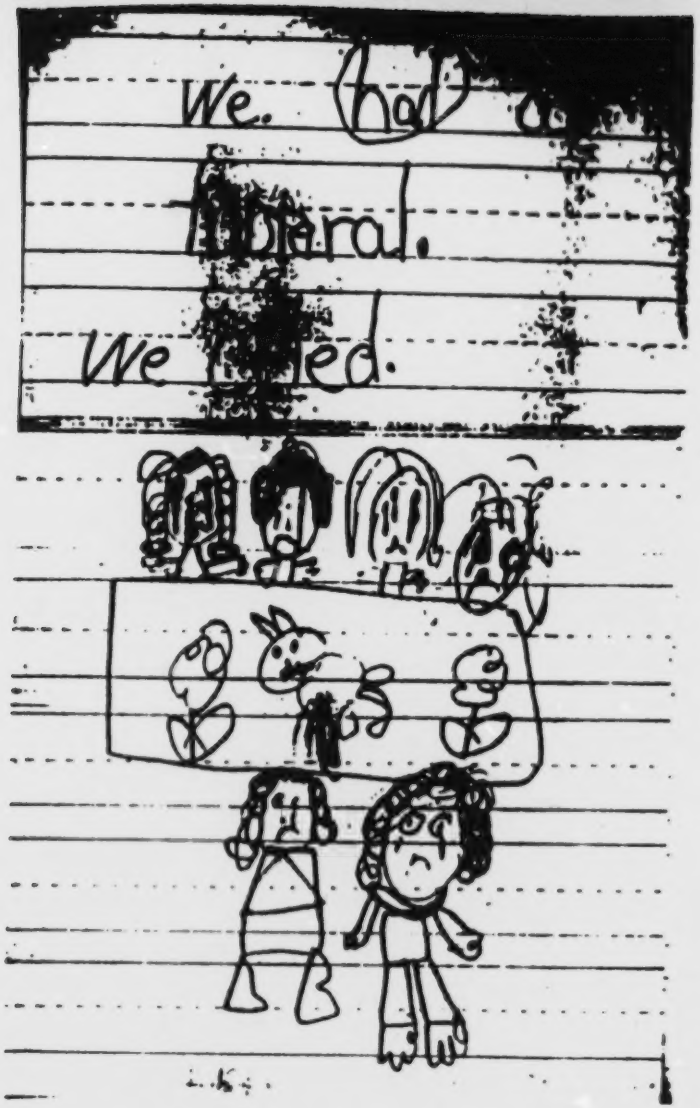
150



151

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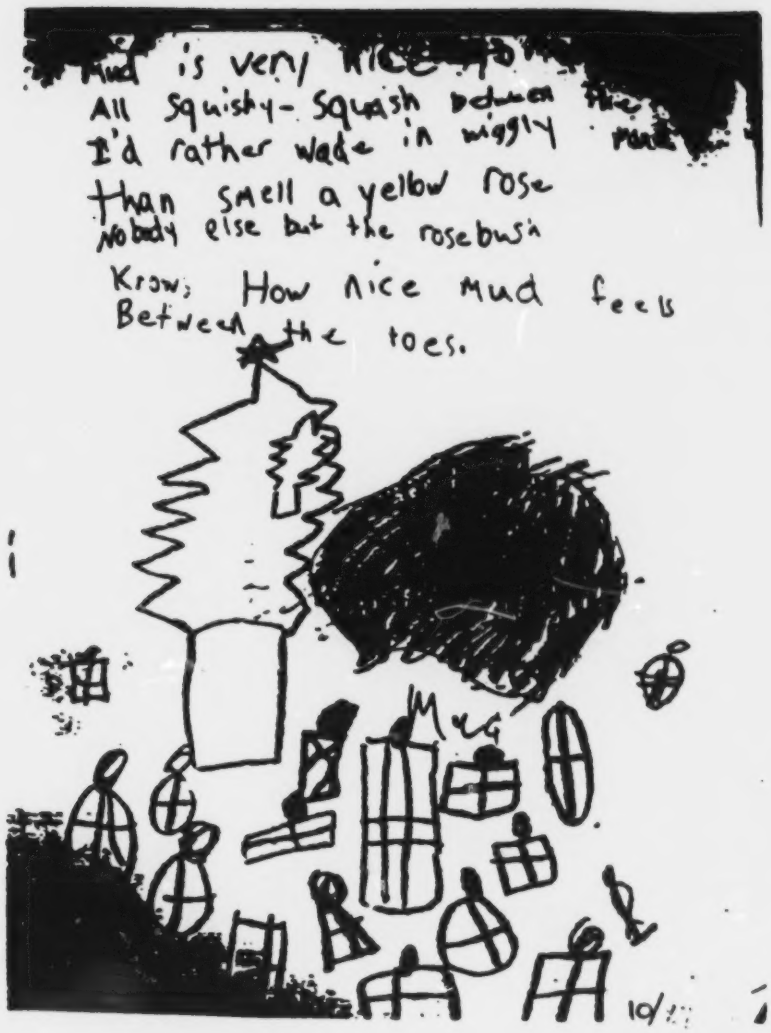
The Snowy Day.

to Winter Morning
Mom and daay

10/26/87

one winter morning Peter woke up and look out the winow. Snow had fallen d.uring the nigt. it cov- ered everything as far as he could See

copied book

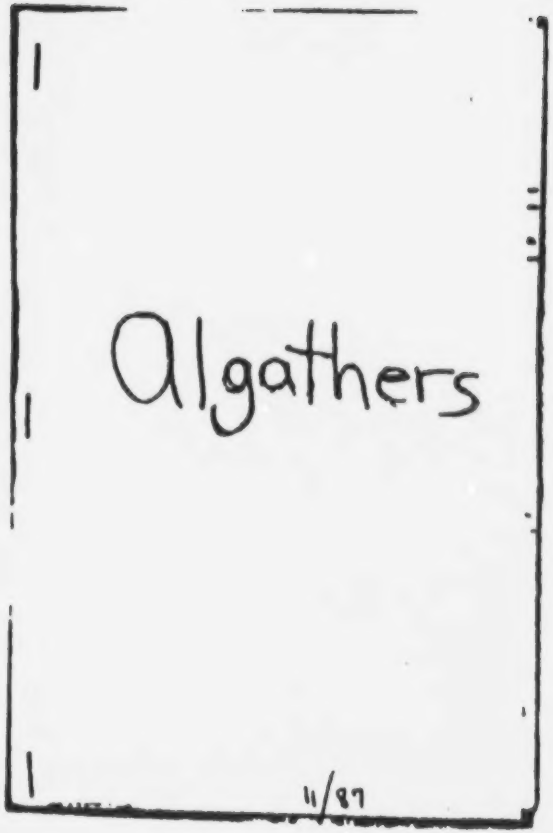

Mud is very nice
All squishy-squash between
I'd rather wade in miggly
than smell a yellow rose
Nobody else but the rosebush
Know How nice mud feels
Between the toes.

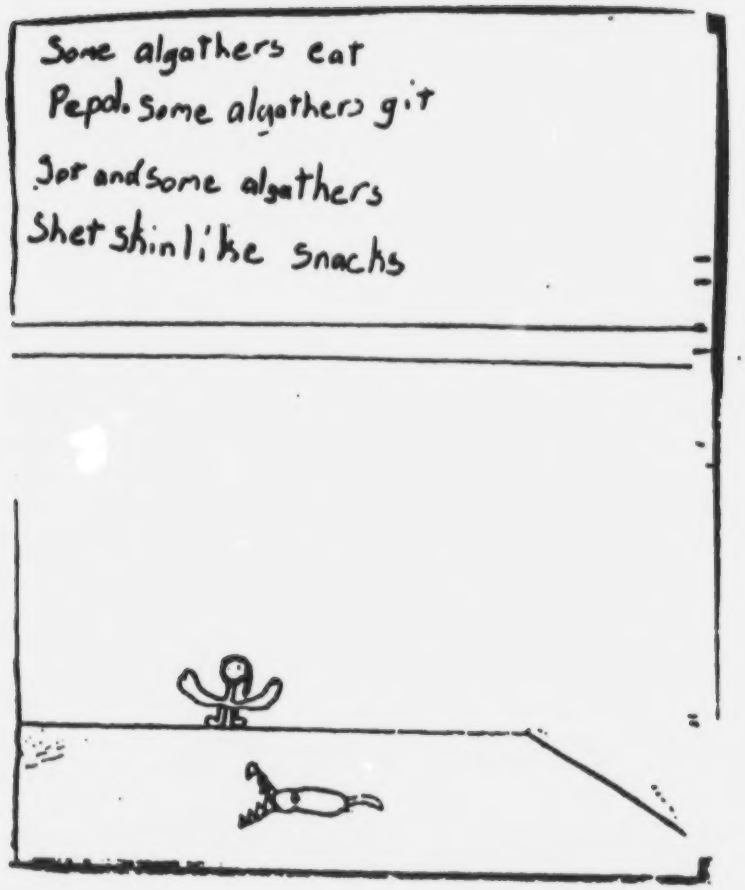
Copied poem

A RAP From LL cool J FEBRUARY 19, 1988

WEll his a little sorey I gil to tell
Abourd theer Bad brthrs you now sow
Well ridm Thow the lad cicin up)sard.

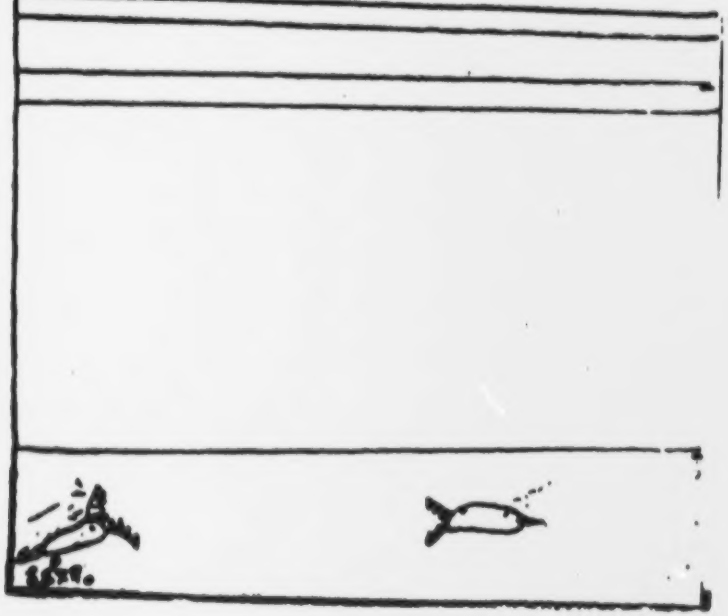
Rap





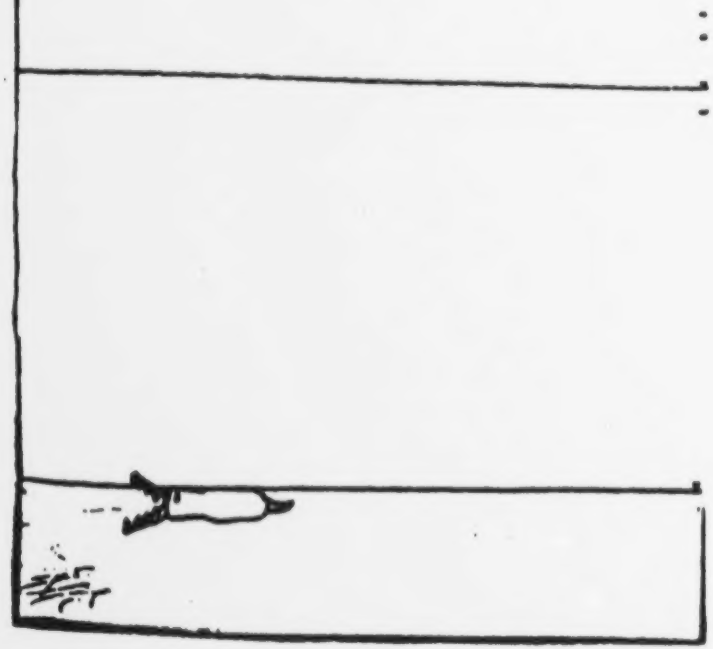
information book

monolgothers have baby
algothers. and win The little babys
algothersgrox up thay will hunt
Thayfood like thay Da Dys
Dis



Some monolgutheres Dis

Dy Come in up from the Word
To much.



algothers life in swamps

and Thay skep in Puns

and swamps. Thay eat fish

and animals some Time

Thay will come up out

of The Word and Thay

will stay out for a little

wile and go back in the Word Thay eat

big animals

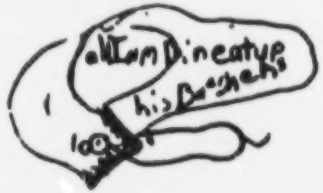
and little animals

Mom algothers lay baby

egg thay nrs then

The

end



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11/13

from Lamar

Dear Mrs. Thiress

My Mom is in the hospital because her sugar was up high and My brother was in foster care for a while. My Mom is out of town.

information

Dear Mrs. Childress I want
to make up with Sherissa
But she dosen't want to
make up with me and
Shanna. I LOVE Sherissa.
She Just dosen't want
to make up. But
I want her to will you
Please go And talk to
her. Please I Love you

request
2/88

Dear Mrs. Waddell's class. Thank you for the gerbils. When we haree baby guineaPigs Wee will give you two of them.

from Aril too
Mrs. Waddell's class

Sept. 9 1987

thank yw letter

Lamont hit me
in the head with
the puzzle
can. Him and ricky
were fighting
with the can
and hit me.

note
12/87

December 15, 1987

Dear Simon,

What did you do for your Weekend? I went to a scary movie. I went to Creepshow part 2. It was really scary. It had a grim reaper in it. He was a skeleton. He had blood on his bones. He was yucky.

I am seven years old. Our class had 19 children in it.

Your friend,

Emile

pen pal letters

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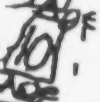
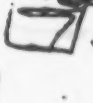
Dear Maria,

I am yoeur Friend. I am in a club. Aree you ina club? We have boysand grils clubs. The Teatther is in a boys club. Our name is Hot Looks club. Our names are:
me(Sherrissa A. Brown) Aree:
friend Anil J. Jaworsk.
friend Angelita a. Gleaves. 
friend Latsham Turner 

Your pen pal;
Sherissa

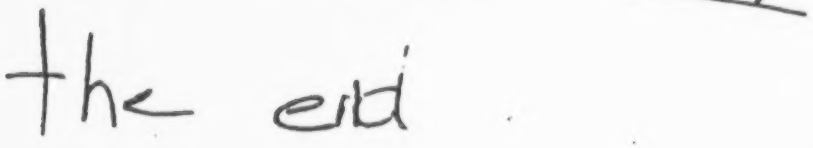
Oct. 19

The Hunted hou
we are going to
Scer evry body
The will run
They will be scered
of us. I am going
To be a VanPar
I Miat be a fretty
Agel thats is fretty
If I diey I will be one
I like agol's Very Much.

Journal entry

November 2, 1984

We went to the museum and Seen dinosaurs they grod a they were We alive. seen rabbit, animals What els alvs We Seen. I Idote remmbry



the end

again

I love the museum. It was noisy when the dinosaurs growled at us. The live animals were very interesting. But I don't remember seeing owls.

Dinosaur journal entry

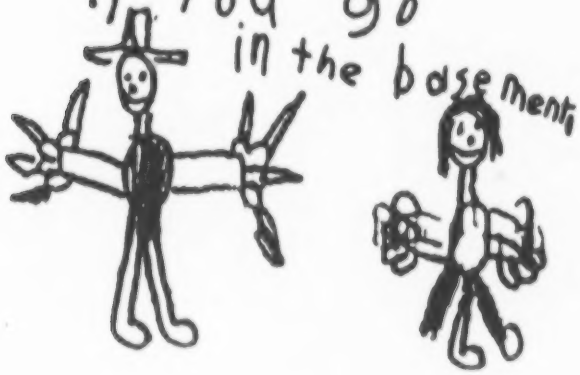
Sept 21 1987

freddy cruegar

PaPt 2

Writen and Alastrad

i am going to kill you if you go in the basement

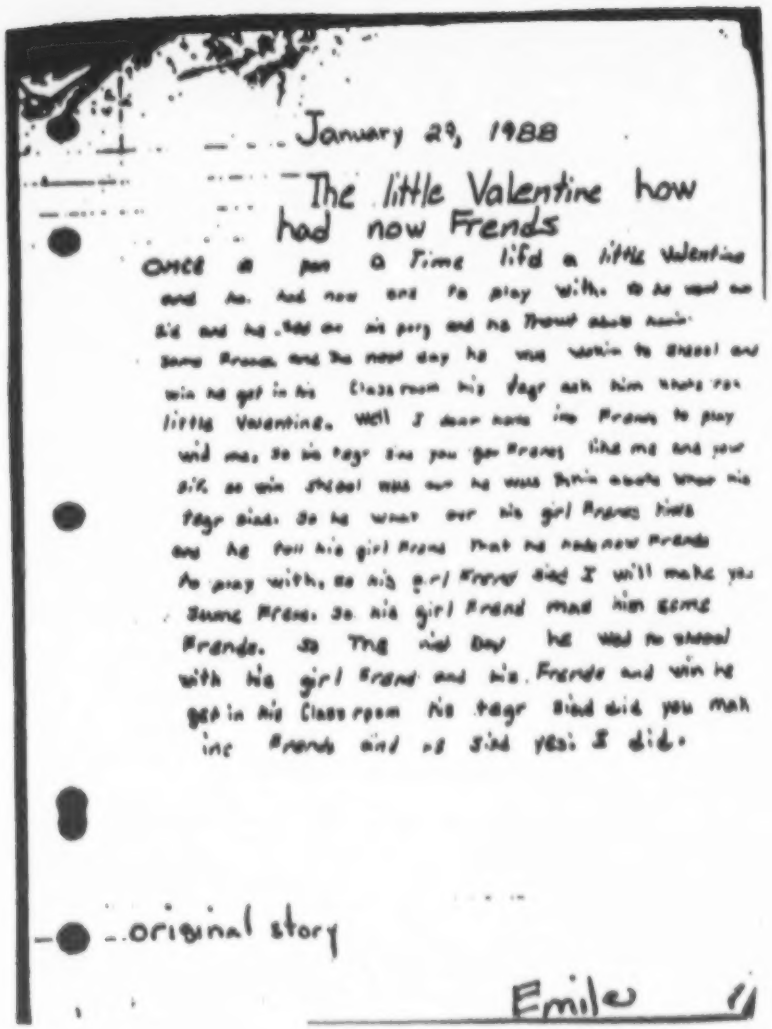


Freddies Killer

11/87

Fredy has
sharp figer nels
He kills with
them he killed
a girl. He killed
a dog. He killed
a Cat He killed
a boy
their MoM and dad died
and childrun' cried

①



January 29, 1988

The little Valentine how had now Frends

once a pon a Time lifd a little Valentine and he had now one to play with. so he went on bik and he fell on his pety and he Thowt about makin Some Frends and the nest day he was wokin to skool and win he get in his Classroom his tegr ask him whats ron little Valentine. Well I dont have ino Frends to play wid me. so his tegr sed you gat Frends like me and your bik so win skool was ovr he was Thin about whot his tegr sed. so he went ovr his girl Frends hows and he tell his girl Frend that he need now Frends to play with. so his girl Frend sed I will make you Some Frends. so his girl Frend mad him some Frends. so The nex Day he wod to skool with his girl Frend and his Frends and win he get in his Classroom his tegr sed did you mak inc Frends and he sed yes I did.

original story

Emile

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March 3 1988

Hungry Clifford

Published 3/13

one day Clifford wus Hungry so He went looking for Some food. He went in a Stor and win He git in the stor he skerd the pepol out of the stor. and the poles come and Clifford skerd the poles away.

175

Clifford wus so Hungry that his Somt wus griling for food. Clifford lookd for food all niyet. Clifford Somt siad fed me or diy.

Patterned story

Clifford throwt for a
minet so he went
to the morki war Tha
Sil food win he get
Throwt He Skerd the
pepol from the morkit
But not a old Lady Clifford
Dit not Skerd the old Lady hit
Clifford on his lias

Clifford ran out of the
Stor Clifford Dit not get
now food out of the stor
Clifford went looking In
Domstr But It wus this
Bones in the Domstr Clifford
inestne Bones Clifford stop
eating the Bones.

the old Lady Stop hiting him and She siad want is your Name He siad my naime is Clifford and Clifford siad want is your name My Name is Gany hulking

Lame..t

Clifford siad Im am Hungry so the lod Lady fed him Clifford eat untoli He wus finito buts. Onep Clifford thak the oldLady for leting him eat and the oldLady Siad your Wecome.. the end o rat from Clifford

Appendix B

Written texts over time form three children in the whole language classroom.

B. 01. - Jarld Michael
B. 02. - Angelita
B. 03. - Jerry Lynn

B 01. Jarld Michael

The dead man

rinun dy
Jorldmic Kael
Maye.

September
3

he got Shot
in th horet 3
tims and Shot
in the legg
and brock hes
orm the poles
come and
the amlins
camie

elfe bide
rad after
the poles
to see what
wus going
on Thay
See shuting
and bud

he is" going
to get bered
thay is going
to hav a frunr
thay is going t
crie then
they is going
to go home

thay probe
Dot have a
Penny thay
probis po
Soon I gat
home I hred
a bout it
this Boy tod

me a blout
then I roda
Book a biout
my claos
LOve it
it is vere
good vere
good I LOve
it I Love
it I LOve
it

they is going
to set ble
the fnie
and tok a
bout it it is
going to be
Sabd thin thay
is going to
rest

the man
that celd he
is bad I hot
he if I see
he I am
going to
col he a
Name

I gest hat
hem so bad
yiuck The
pies is
Looking for
hem wen
thay cech
hem thay
is going

to put hem
be hind bares
sum one is
going to paay
his way out
thay probe
bont have
a nuf muney
to get hem
out

I am going to say ugle men! I shud shut you yau Stinke man!

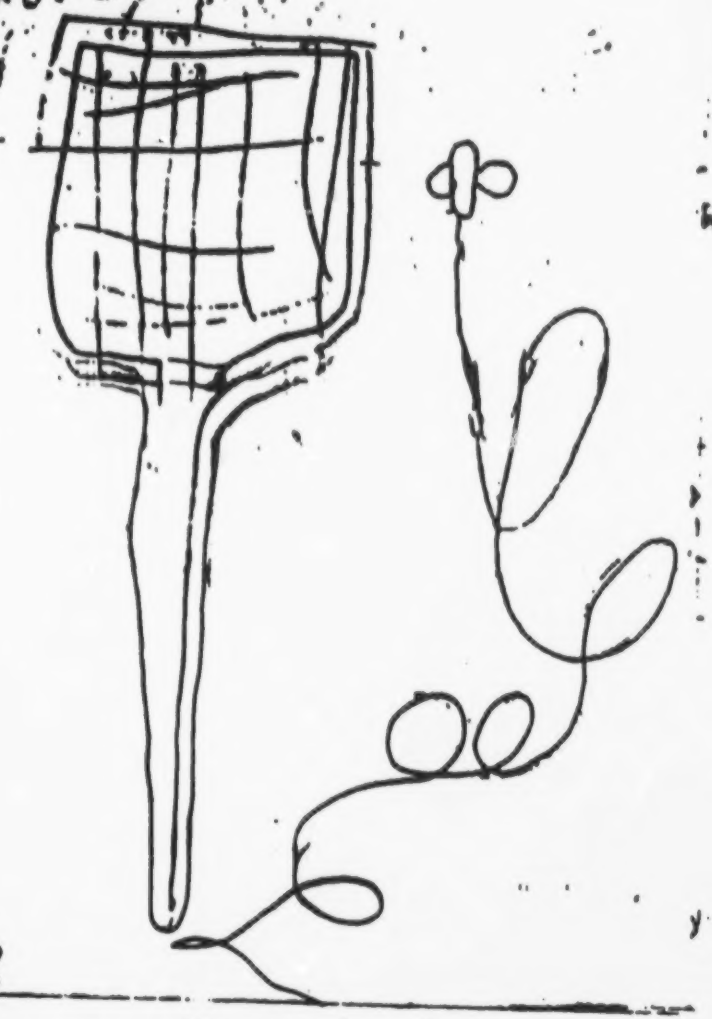
I hat hem!
I hat hem!
I hat hem!
I hat hem!
I hat hem!
I hat hem!
I hat hem

January

The Abbit and the Tetbol

One day the ribbit wone to chwi ingo the tretol becoues the ribbit that he was the Bestt the Grondhog solled tecits for a dime every body came thay solled red fagis for thee tretol and brown for the ribbit the ras was rety bang with the gun thay tuck off the ribbit flo like a but it the tretoi as two ants the ribbit stop for a Nape the tretol cot up with the ribbit Becoues he tuck a nape the ribbit wok up and stared to ras. Agin the ribbit pased the tretol that was the ind of the ras then a ceter came with black spots on him he side Ras me I will bet you like a bulit O.K. side the ribb.

Fly Swoter



1/5/88

edraft

written from wordless picture book.

One Day the Bears Whor haveing
diner Diner With the Windo open.
a Fuszey fly Came in and
Went shrate to the Father
Bear. he ran to get the
Fly Swoter mother got
happy littel girl Was
licking her Fengers PoPuo
Bear noked a gass off
the taBol With the Fly
Swoken. mother Bear
Was Shoked. PoPuo Bear

got angrey gid Bear and mother Bear lobked up. at the fly PoPuo Bear Swong at the fly and. het mother Bear mother Bear mother was nocked out. Popuo Bear ran after the fly the fly went to the girl Popuo Bear. still ran afther the fly towards. the fly went thous

the girl Bear POPuO Swong at the fly and het girl Bear. She Was noaed out the Dog looked at her strange shrang. Popuo Bear got angrey towards the fly went thous the Dog. the Dog Bork at the fly Popu

Bear went after the fly

PoPuo Bear Swong at the Fly and Het the Dog the Dog Was noked out

poPuo Bear unbottoned Boton his shert cos he Was hot. PoPuo Bear Pecked up a chir and climed over the tabol with it. he fell out.

of the chair and Was noked out evrey one Was out. Fi- the 123 pen. the fly flou out the window. and that Wers that!

The End

B.02. Angelita

Angelita Sept.

Mrs. WD
Tk you for
The 6 Bs

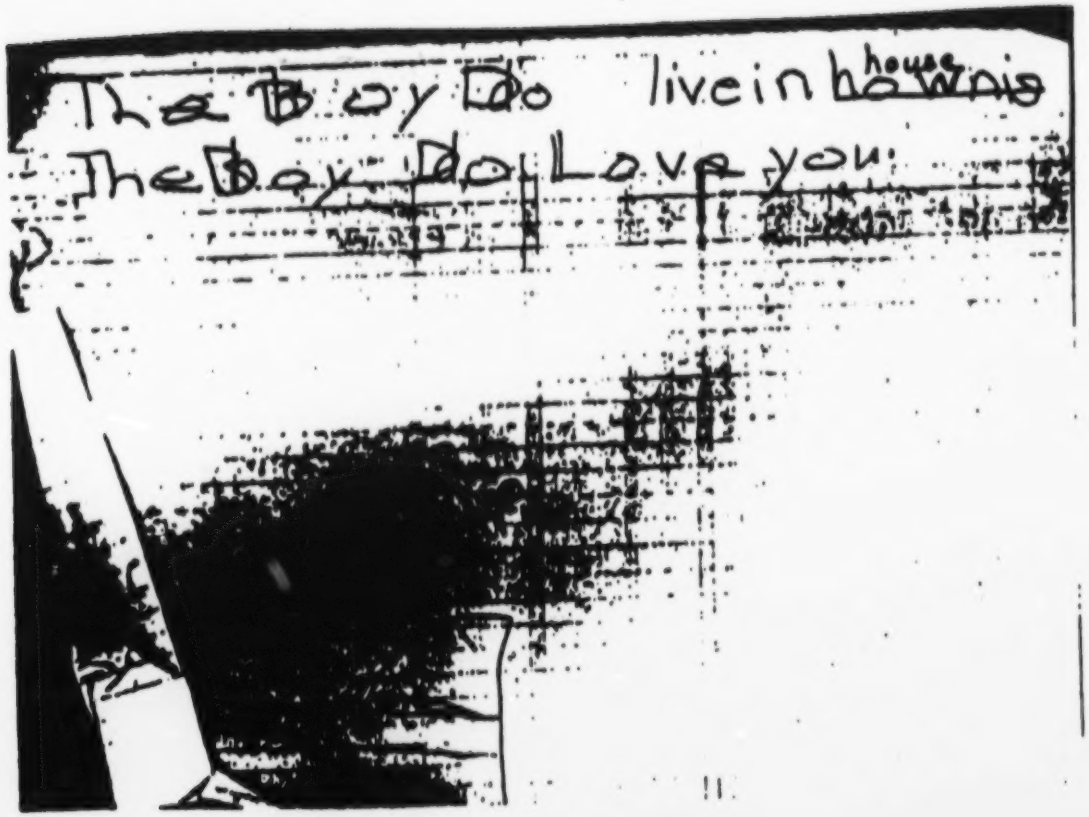
(Mrs. Waddell,
Thank you for
the gerbils.)

Kill it Kill The monster.
no Det Kill The monster
he Save [redacted] lif We [redacted]
Love The monster.
Det you Love hm.
no I Do t! We Do like chia!

Angelita
11/13/07

Boys are Nice to Gals

By Angelita G.
April 25, 1988


The Boy Do live in houses
The Boy Do Love you

[redacted] not Gaeck. drink

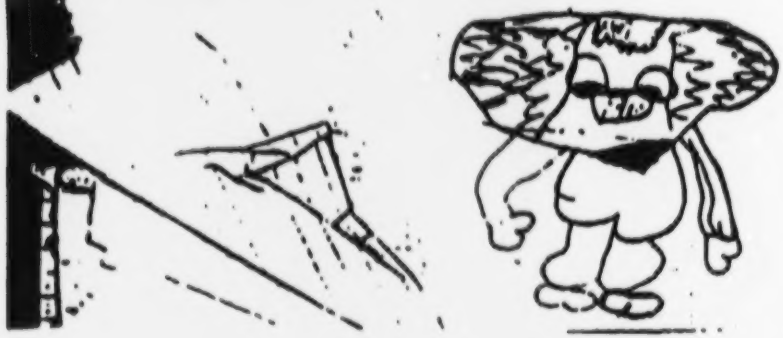
[redacted] not ack nasty. act nasty

The Boys Do not Do Dueas! drugs

The Boys Do not laef at girls laugh

The Boys Do not Be Ming ta girls mean

That Boys Be nice to girls.



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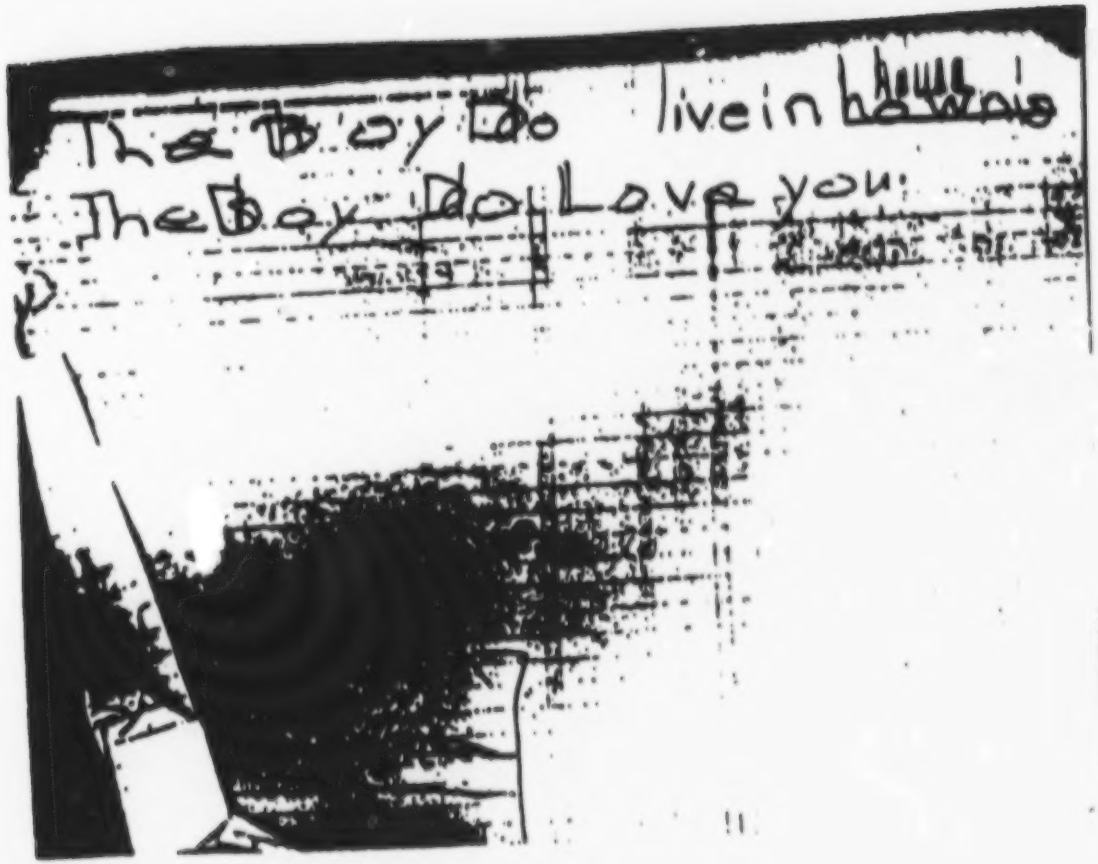
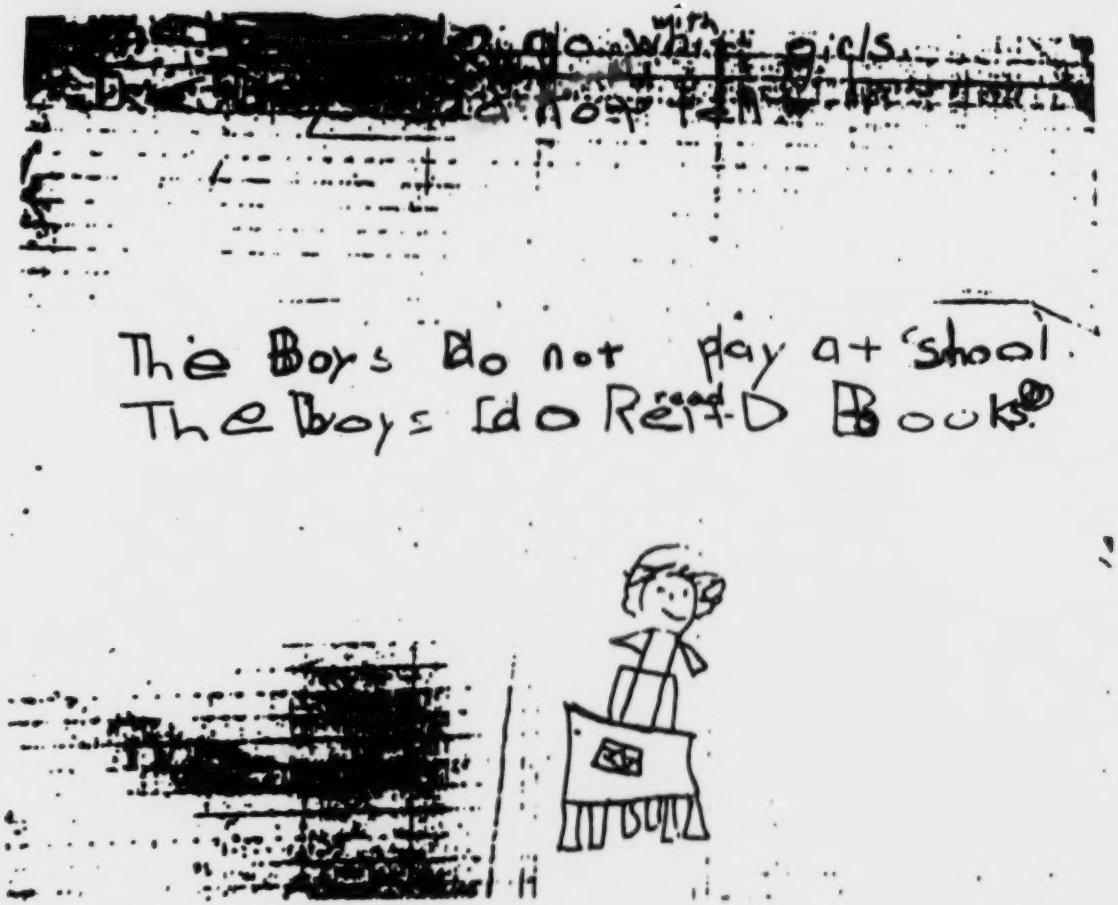


211

212



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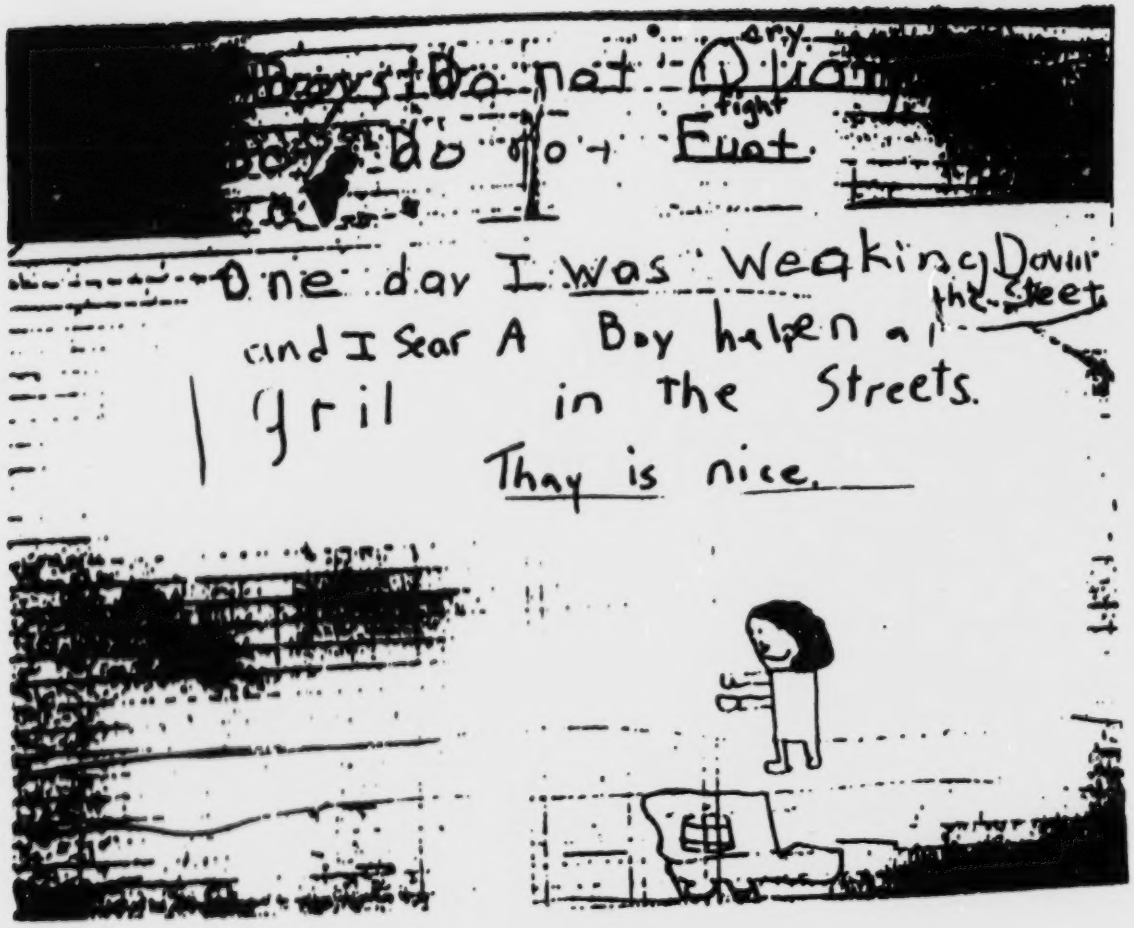
Boys Do not Cry
Boys Do not Fight
One day I was Weaking Down the Steet
and I Sear A Boy halpen a Gril in the Streets.
Thay is nice.

215

216

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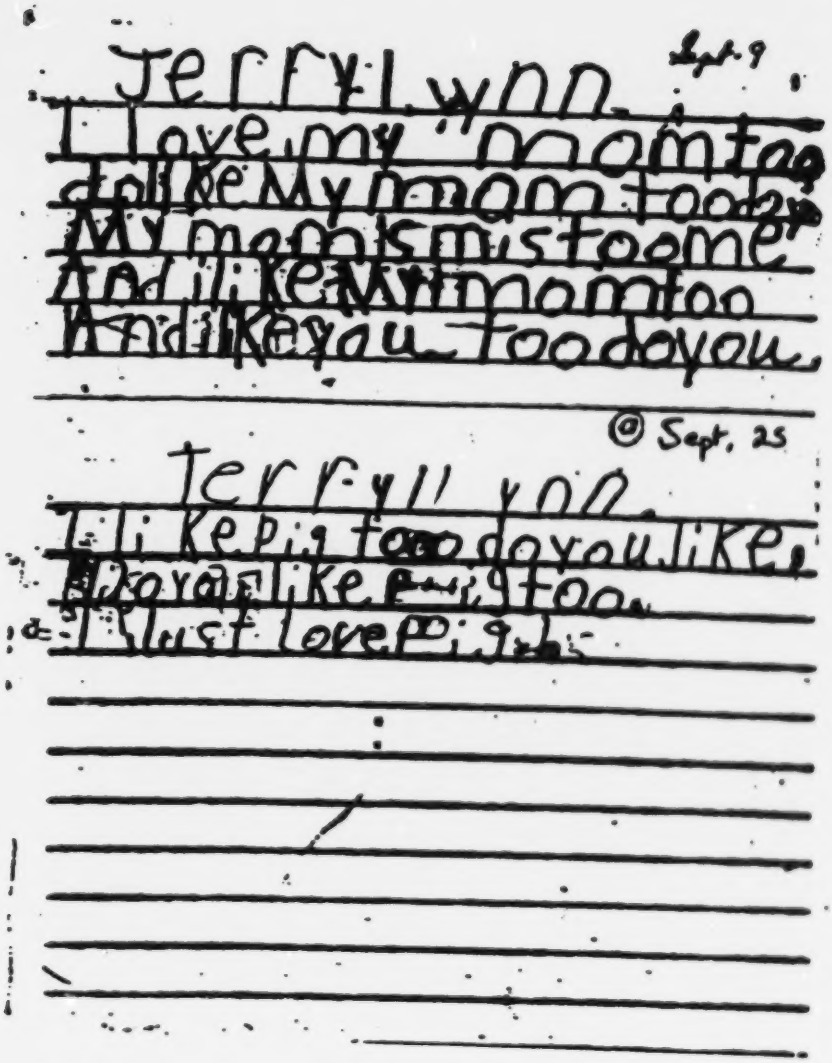
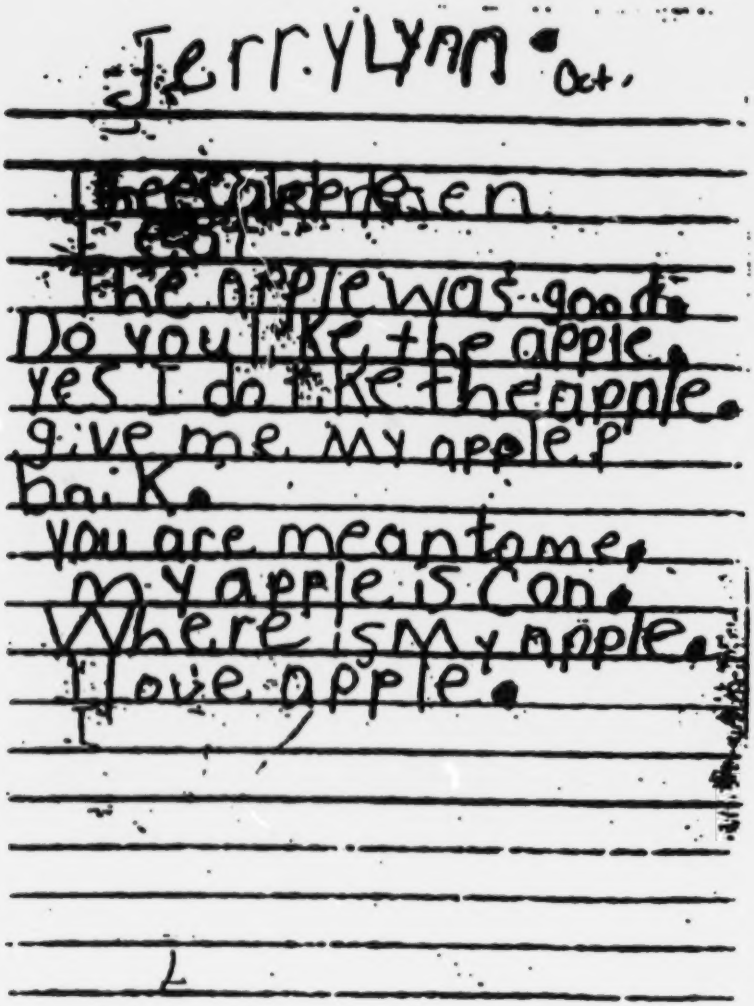
B.03. Jerry Lynn

Jerrylynn's writing ffrom Sept. to Feb.

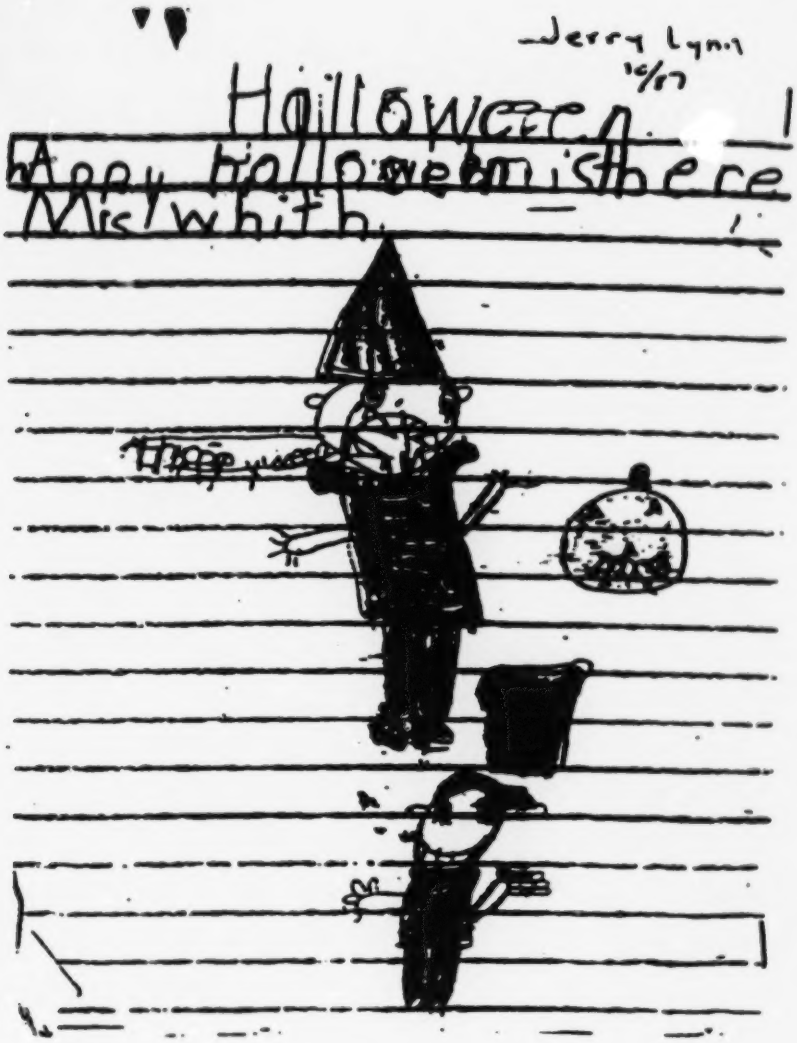

Jerrylynn Sept. 9
I love my mom too
do like My mom too?
My mom is mis too me
And i like My mom too
And i Kay ou too do you.

© Sept. 25

Jerrylynn
I i Ke Pig too do you like
Do ya like Pig too
I Just love Pig


Jerrylynn Oct.

The Chicken
I eat
The apple was good.
Do you like the apple.
yes I do like the apple.
give me my apple.
bad.
you are mean to me.
my apple is Con.
Where is My apple.
I love apple.


Jerry Lynn
10/87
Halloween
Happy Halloween is there
Mist with.

The swith

The swith has a hangr
She has hair
She has a blacksuite
And She rides on her pom
She is verry ugr
She has two teth
She has a black cat
Orange shoes

HAPPY Halloween

I like hallowee bi theres
my cat it
this swhit is mean
I dat like swhith
this swhit hdet sce me
you mcan swhith

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The Dear Last
Febraury 11 1988

To My Uncle Jerry Lynn,

Public 3/9/89

1 My cat ditiwent the
wias 7 yeus old.
She wasa blackand
wat.

2 The resingshedit
becuas amen pet
up a rat and it had
bean rat posing and
the cat at the rat

3 The cat wias my
wags cat.
bet me and my mom
was tacking cerry
of the cat.

4 And one nit o tsco
she dit.
And we cid.
And then we fit a
box and we put
the cat in the box
And we tary the cat
and put her in the
dustr.
And I love her very
much and I stl
cats name was
ee

Appendix C

Summary of the Constant Comparative Method of Analysis

The Constant Comparative Method

1. Recording Incidents Applicable to Each Category

The researcher records incidents of data in some orderly way. While recording an incident for a category, the researcher compares it with previous incidents in the same and different groups recorded in the same category. This constant comparison of incidents begins to generate theoretical properties of the category. A property of a category is a conceptual element (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). For example, a category might be nonverbal behaviors of minority children engaged in a social-literacy event. A property of that category might be means of draining excess energy. Properties may be of two kinds: those generated by the research for the purposes of the study and those abstracted by the researcher.

After the recording of number of incidents in several categories, the researcher may stop to write a memorandum to determine alternative ways in which incidents can be coded and compared. The discussions in the memo provide the context behind the categories. Therefore, memos should provide rationales for inclusion or exclusion. It is important that the memos not stray far away from the data into speculations not within the parameters of the data or into logical deductions that are too far removed from the data. Examples from the data should be used when integrating categories and their properties into a substantive theory.

2. Integrating Categories and Their Properties

This activity begins in a small way from the beginning of data collection as incident if compared to incident. As properties emerge from the coding of incidents, they are compared as well. This leads to formulation of terms that integrate properties. A part of this process is the generation of questions for further data collection to fill the gaps in the emerging theory. Theory is developed as different categories and their properties are integrated through constant comparisons.

3. Delimiting the Theory

The process of limiting helps prevent the analyst from being overwhelmed by the weight and mass of data. It occurs at two levels. First, the theory begins to solidify in that major modifications become fewer and

fewer as new data come in and are recorded. Second, reduction occurs. The analyst discovers underlying uniformities in the original set of categories and their properties and can then formulate the theory with a smaller set of higher order concepts. A factor in delimiting the number of categories is that many categories become theoretically saturated. That is, each new incident creates no new categories or meaningful change in the properties of the categories.

4. Writing the Theory

The analyst now possesses data, memos, and a substantive theory. The discussions provided by the memos provide the major themes for the statements of description and substantive theory. Forming a systematic, substantive theory that is a reasonably accurate statement of the matters studied is the ultimate goal. The researcher should ensure in writing the theory that the following properties of the theory are observed. First, the theory should be complex (i.e., based on considerable data). Second, it should be diverse (i.e., each piece of data should have been compared with all others). Third, it should be developmental, continuing almost up to the stage of writing. Fourth, the theory should be stated in either discussional or propositional terms (Bertrand, 1986, pp. 37-42).

APPENDIX D

Sample: Categorical list from initial data intake

TEACHER CATEGORIES
Whole Language

62

Teacher interacts with researcher.

2

Teacher gives negative feedback. Ex.: some children need more quiet - be working.

18

Teacher gets/collects/passes out materials.

8

Teacher ask housekeeping questions. (How many are here today?)

3

Teacher gives positive feedback.

20

Teacher gives child a marker.

1

Teacher asks child to get/put up materials.

5

Teacher/researcher inteceeds in argument.

2

Teacher comes over to set w/child (or rug) or at seat.

3

Teacher monitors class visually.

3

Teacher monitors group at work.

13

Teacher joins/helps child as he reads aloud at seat, authors chair, book, share, etc.

5

Teacher aborts child's response.

1

Teacher aborts child initiated lit. event.

3

Teacher recognizes child. (Chris raises hand.)

6

Teacher does not recognize child's raised hand.

1

Teacher controls child by putting arms around him.

1

Teacher gives rules of behavior and class organization.

2

Outside interference (lady from office principal RIF lady, etc.).

1

Teacher helps children work through a problem.

6

Teacher provides children with assistance at various stages of the writing process.

2

Teacher asks a child/reader to wait/begin again until group gets ready/quiet.

2

Teacher asks question during sharing time.

10

Teacher uses direct instruction during writing conf.
(ALF stands for Alien Life Form) Use capital letters.

1

Teacher models relative, text or V.S. to prior knowledge.

4

Teacher acknowledges formal vs informal nature of language.

1

Teacher reads/rereads outloud.

31

Teacher leads group in class experiment.

1

Teacher calls/explains how conferencing will work.

4

Teacher gives child verbal directions.

12

Teacher gives child word for (to express) his meaning.
Ex. Harp the big thing with strips.

1

Teacher uses a text for further class writing.

1

Teacher invites child to share his/her writing during conf.

10

Teacher participates in the discussion during sharing time.

22

Teacher points out use of models for writing.
(Shanna's writing was a poem.)

4

Teacher writes and/or draws attention to days/morning options on board.

3

Teacher helps children negotiate direction of group project/class activity.

4

Teacher invites children to give positive feedback for other children's writing.

5

Teacher answers child's questions.

11

Teacher spontaneously teaches lesson.
(Broken fish tank heater)
(book dedications)

5

Teacher monitors child's work (individual).

7

Whole Language T

Teacher uses direct instruction during writing conf.
(ALF stands for Alien Life Form) Use capital letters.

1

Teacher models relative, text or V.S. to prior knowledge.

4

Teacher acknowledges formal vs informal nature of language.

1

Teacher reads/rereads outloud.

31

Teacher leads group in class experiment.

1

Teacher calls/explains how conferencing will work.

4

CHILD CATEGORIES

Child checks perrs for his/her performance relative to group.

1

Child looks to other students for directions during/after silent or oral reading.

6

Child looks ahead in story picture clues/cues.

1

Child volunteers to answer child's question.

2

Child tells another, to read quietly.

1

Child looks at other child's book.

4

Child mouths and lags behind on oral vocabulary list.

2

Child tracks with finger or pencil.

15

Child subvocalizes during silent reading.

2

Child watches T but does not respond orally w/rest of the group.

1

Child talks to self or mouths words as she/he completes assignment.

2

Child looks at another child's paper for confirmation help.

20

Child talks to/assists neighbor w/about written assignment.

3

Child looks at neighbor.

6

Child begins to rock himself/herself.

1

Child yawns and stretches.

31

Child looks around the room for several seconds.

48

Child drops or plays with pen/pencil/crayon and other objects; purse, feet, eraser, book.

21

Child shrugs shoulders, rubs neck/face.

2

Child asks T a question.

3

Child writes or colors on/in ditto/worksheet/skilpak.

57

Child listens to others read aloud from their own stories.

1

Children share a basal.

3

Child assists/corrects another in reading.

7

Child self-corrects during oral reading.

1

Child sits quietly while another child
responds to the teacher.

1

Child hunts for pencils/crayons/paper/etc.
in desk.

6

Child puts head in hands

30

Child fidgets in chair/or on floor as he/she works.

45

Hugs knees (child)

1

Child plays with another student.

1

Child rubs eyes.

6

Child stops and appears to reflect.

3

Children use books (basal) to draw from.

1

Child reads aloud or questions from teacher
(worksheet/ditto)

37

Child uses text to find answer to Ts question.
(solving for answers using text.)

6

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